Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

https://archive.org/details/memoirsofamerica02gran_0

Isabella Hamlyn 1810

MEMOIRS

OF

AN AMERICAN LADY;

WITH

SKETCHES OF MANNERS AND SCENERY IN AMERICA,

AS THEY EXISTED PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
"LETTERS FROM THE MOUNTAINS," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATER-NOSTER-ROW; J. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY; AND MRS. H. COOK, JERMYN-STREET.

1809.

r. Davison, Whitefriars,
London.

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

Followers of the army.—Inconveniences resulting from such, - - - Page 1

CHAP. II.

Arrival of a new regiment.—Domine Freylinghausen, - - 9

CHAP. III.

Plays acted.—Displeasure of the Domine, 20

CHAP. IV.

Return of Madame.—The Domine leaves his people.—Fulfilment of his Predictions, - 30

CHAP. V.

Death of Colonel Schuyler, - 40

CHAP. VI.

Mrs. Schuyler's arrangements and conduct after the Colonel's Death, - Page 48

CHAP. VII.

Mohawk Indians.—The Superintendant, 55

CHAP. VIII.

General Abercrombie.—Lord Howe, 65

CHAP. IX.

Total defeat at Ticonderoga. — General Lee. — Humanity of Madame, - 77

CHAP. X.

The family of Madame's ſiſter.—The death of the latter, - 84

CHAP. XI.

Further ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms. — A Miſſionary.—Cortlandt Schuyler, - 91

CHAP. XII.

Burning of the houſe at the Flats.—Madame's removal.—Journey of the Author, 99

CHAP. XIII.

Continuation of the journey.—Arrival at Oſwego —Regulations, ſtudies, and amuſements there, Page 110

CHAP. XIV.

Benefit of ſelect reading.—Hunting excurſion, 126

CHAP. XV.

Gardening and agriculture.—Return of the Author to Albany, - - 133

CHAP. XVI.

Madame's family and ſociety deſcribed, 142

CHAP. XVII.

Sir Jeffrey Amherſt.—Mutiny.—Indian War, 156

CHAP. XVIII.

Pondiac.—Sir Robert D. - 167

CHAP. XIX.

Death of Captain Dalziel.—Sudden deceaſe of an Indian chief.—Madame.—Her protegées, 179

CHAP. XX.

Madame's popularity.—Exchange of prisoners, Page 193

CHAP. XXI.

Return of the 55th regiment to Europe.—Privates sent to Pensacola, - - 199

CHAP. XXII.

A new property.—Visionary plans, - 207

CHAP. XXIII.

Return to the Flats, - - 225

CHAP. XXIV.

Melancholy presages.—Turbulence of the people, 231

CHAP. XXV.

Settlers of a new description.—Madame's chaplain, 243

CHAP. XXVI.

Mode of conveying timber in rafts down the river, 258

CHAP. XXVII.

The swamp.—A discovery, - 264

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Mrs. Schuyler's view of the continental politics, 276

CHAP. XXIX.

Deſcription of the breaking up of the ice on Hudſon's river, - - 281

CHAP. XXX.

Departure from Albany.—Origin of the ſtate of Vermont, - - 289

CHAP. XXXI.

General reflections, - - 300

CHAP. XXXII.

Reflections continued, - - 313

CHAP. XXXIII.

Sketch of the ſettlement of Pennſylvania, 325

CHAP. XXXIV.

Proſpects brightening in Britiſh America.—Deſirable country on the interior lakes, - 338

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 3, line 4, for *reſtored. Yet* read *reſtored; yet*
27, l. 1, for *her* read *his*
29, l. 17, for *Mr.* read *Colonel*
33, l. 3, for *Mr.* read *Colonel*
40, l. 8, dele *in theſe*
56, l. 8, a *full ſtop* inſtead of a *comma* after diſtricts
57, l. 11 and 12, for *elſewhere. We* read *elſewhere, we*
76, l. 24, for *trader. That* read *trader; that*
78, l. 2, for *patrons. It* read *patrons, it*
80, l. 16, for *grew* read *grow*
83, l. 18, for *their* read *the*
84, l. 9, for *grew* read *grow*
101, l. 14, for *room. A* read *room, a*
112, laſt line, for *great deal* read *degree*
114, l. 2, for *number* read *members*
139, l. 15, for *ſervice* read *ſurface*
200, l. 16, dele *that*
221, l. 1, for *military children* read *military. Children*
238, l. 11, for *inſtruments* read *inſtrument*

VOL. II.

Page 57, l. 11, for *and* read *an*
229, l. 3, for *next* read *reſt*

CHAP. I.

Followers of the Army.—Inconveniences reſulting from ſuch.

To return to the legion of commiſſaries &c. Theſe employments were at firſt given to very inferior people; it was ſeen, however, that as the ſcale of military operations and erections increaſed, theſe people were enriching themſelves, both at the expence of the king, and the inhabitants; whom they frequently exaſperated into inſolence or reſiſtance, and then uſed that pretext to keep in their own hands the payments to which theſe people were entitled. When their waggons and ſlaves were preſſed into the ſervice, it was neceſſary to employ ſuch perſons from the firſt. The colonel and the mayor, and all whom they could influence, did all they

could to alleviate an evil that could not be prevented, and was daily aggravating disaffection. They found, as the importance of these offices increased, it would conduce more to the public good, by larger salaries to induce people to accept them who were gentlemen, and had that character to support; and who, being acquainted with the people and their language, knew best how to qualify and soften, and where to apply, —so as least to injure or irritate. Some young men, belonging to the country, were at length prevailed on to accept two or three of these offices; which had the happiest effect, in conciliating and conquering the aversion that existed against the *regulars*.

Among the first of the natives who engaged in those difficult employments, was one of aunt's adopted sons, formerly mentioned; Philip Schuyler of the pasture, as he was called, to distinguish him from the other nephew; who, had he lived, would have been the colonel's heir. He appeared merely a careless, good humoured

ed young man. Never was any one ſo little what he ſeemed, with regard to ability, activity, and ambition, art, enterprize, and perſeverance, all of which he poſſeſſed in an uncommon degree, though no man had leſs the appearance of theſe qualities: eaſy, complying, and good humoured, the converſations, full of wiſdom and ſound policy, of which he had been a ſeemingly inattentive witneſs, at the Flats, only ſlept in his recollection, to wake in full force when called forth by occaſion.

A ſhrewd and able man, who was I think a brigadier in the ſervice, was appointed quarter-maſter-general, with the entire ſuperintendance of all the boats, buildings, &c. in New York, the Jerſeys, and Canadian frontier. He had married, when very young, a daughter of Colonel Kenſelaer. Having at the time no ſettled plan for the ſupport of a young family, he felt it incumbent on him to make ſome unuſual exertion for them. Colonel Schuyler and his conſort not only adviſed him to accept an inferior employment in this buſineſs,

but recommended him to the Brigadier Bradſtreet, who had the power of diſpoſing of ſuch offices, which were daily growing in importance. They well knew that he poſſeſſed qualities which might not only render him an uſeful ſervant to the public, but clear his way to fortune and diſtinction. His perfect command of temper, acuteneſs, and diſpatch in buſineſs, and in the hour of ſocial enjoyment, eaſily relapſing into all that careleſs frank hilarity and indolent good humour, which ſeems the peculiar privilege of the free and diſencumbered mind, active and companionable, made him a great acquiſition to any perſon under whom he might happen to be employed. This the penetration of Bradſtreet ſoon diſcovered; and he became not only his ſecretary and deputy, but in a ſhort time after, his ambaſſador, as one might ſay: for before Philip Schuyler was twenty-two, the general, as he was univerſally ſtyled, ſent him to England to negociate ſome buſineſs of importance with the board of trade and plantations. In the mean while ſome other

young

young men, natives of the country, accepted employments in the ſame department; by this time greatly extended. Averſe as the country people were to the army, they began to reliſh the advantage derived from the money which that body of protectors, ſo much feared and deteſted, expended among them. This was more conſiderable than might at firſt be imagined. Government allowed proviſions to the troops ſerving in America; without which they could not indeed have proceeded through an uninhabited country; where, even in ſuch places as were inhabited, there were no regular markets, no competition for ſupply; nothing but exorbitant prices could tempt thoſe people who were not poor, and found a ready market for all their produce in the Weſt-Indies. Now having a regular ſupply of ſuch proviſions as are furniſhed to the fleet, they had no occaſion to lay out their money for ſuch things; and rather purchaſed the produce of the country, liquors, &c. for which the natives took care to make them pay very

high ; an evil which the Schuylers moderated as much as poſſible, though they could not check it entirely. This proviſion ſyſtem was a very great, though neceſſary evil ; for it multiplied contractors, commiſſaries, and ſtore-keepers, without end. At a diſtance from the ſource of authority, abuſes encreaſe, and redreſs becomes more difficult ; which is of itſelf a ſufficient argument againſt the extenſion of dominion. Many of thoſe new comers were ambiguous characters, originally from the old country, (as expatriated Britons fondly call their native land,) but little known in this, and not happy ſpecimens of that they had left. Theſe ſatellites of delegated power had all the inſolence of office, and all that avidity of gain, which a ſudden riſe of circumſtances creates in low and unprincipled minds ; and they, from the nature of their employment, and the difficulty of getting proviſions tranſported from place to place, were very frequently the medium of that intercourſe carried on between the military and the natives ; and

did

did not by any means contribute to raiſe the Britiſh character in their eſtimation.

I dwell the more minutely on all theſe great, though neceſſary evils, which invariably attend an army in its progreſs through a country which is the theatre of actual war, that the reader may be led to ſet a juſt value on the privileges of this highly favoured region; which, ſitting on many waters, ſends forth her thunders through the earth; and while the fartheſt extremes of the eaſt and weſt bend to her dominion, has not for more than half a century heard the ſound of hoſtility within her bounds. Many unknown perſons, who were in ſome way attached to the army, and reſolved to live by it in ſome ſhape, ſet up as traders; carried ſtores ſuited to military conſumption along with them, and finally eſtabliſhed themſelves as merchants in Albany. Some of theſe proved worthy characters, however; and inter-marrying with the daughters of the citizens, and adopting in ſome degree their ſober manners, became in proceſs of time eſtimable members of ſociety. Others,

and indeed the moſt part of them, roſe like exhalations; and obtaining credit by dint of addreſs and aſſurance, glittered for a time; affecting ſhewy and expenſive modes of living, and aping the manners of their patrons. Theſe, as ſoon as peace diminiſhed the military eſtabliſhment, and put an end to that ferment and fluctuation, which the actual preſence of war never fails to excite, burſt like bubbles on the ſurface of the ſubſiding waves, and aſtoniſhed the Albanians with the novel ſpectacle of bankruptcy and impriſonment. All this gradually wrought a change on the face of ſociety; yet ſuch was the diſguſt which the imputed licentiouſneſs, foppery, and extravagance of the officers, and the pretenſions unſupported by worth or knowledge of their apes and followers, produced; that the young perſons, who firſt married thoſe ambiguous new comers, generally did ſo without the conſent of their parents; whoſe affection for their children, however, ſoon reconciled them.

CHAP. II.

Arrival of a new Regiment. — Domine Preyling-hauſen.

A REGIMENT came to town about this time; the ſuperior officers of which were younger, more gay, and leſs amenable to good counſel than thoſe who uſed to command the troops, which had formerly been placed on this ſtation. They paid their viſits at the Flats, and were received; but not as uſual, cordially; neither their manners nor morals being calculated for that meridian. Part of the Royal Americans, or independant companies, had at this time poſſeſſion of the fort; ſome of theſe had families; and they were in general perſons of decent morals, and a moderate and judicious way of thinking, who, though they did not court the ſociety of the natives, expreſſed no contempt for their manners or opinions. The regiment I

ſpeak of, on the contrary, turned thoſe plain burghers into the higheſt ridicule, yet uſed every artifice to get acquainted with them. They wiſhed in ſhort to act the part of very fine gentlemen; and the gay and ſuperficial in thoſe days were but too apt to take for their model the fine gentlemen of the deteſtable old comedies: which good taſte has now very properly exploded; and at which, in every ſtage of ſociety, the uncorrupted mind muſt have felt infinite diſguſt. Yet forms arrayed in gold and ſcarlet, and rendered more impoſing by an air of command and authority, occaſionally ſoftened down into gentleneſs and ſubmiſſion; and by that noiſy gaiety which youthful inexperience miſtakes for happineſs, and that flippant petulance, which thoſe who knew not much of the language, and nothing at all of the world, miſtook for wit, were very enſnaring. Thoſe dangerouſly accompliſhed heroes made their appearance at a time when the Engliſh language began to be more generally underſtood; and when the pretenſions of the

mer-

merchants, commiſſaries, &c. to the ſtations they occupied were no longer dubious. Thoſe poliſhed ſtrangers now began to make a part of general ſociety. At this criſis it was that it was found neceſſary to have recourſe to billets. The ſuperior officers had generally been either received at the Flats, or accommodated in a large houſe which the colonel had in town. The manner in which the hoſpitality of that family was exerciſed, the ſelection which they made of ſuch as were fitted to aſſociate with the young perſons who dwelt under their protection, always gave a kind of tone to ſociety; and held out a light to others.

Madame's ſiſter, as I before obſerved, was married to the reſpectable and intelligent magiſtrate, who adminiſtered juſtice, not only to the town, but to the whole neighbourhood. In their houſe alſo ſuch of the military were received, and kindly entertained, as had the ſanction of her ſiſter's approbation. This judicious and equitable perſon, who, in the courſe of trading in early life upon the lakes, had undergone

many of the hardſhips, and even dangers, which awaited the military in that perilous path of duty, knew well what they had to encounter in the defence of a ſurly and ſelf-righted race, who were little inclined to ſhew them common indulgence; far leſs gratitude. He judged equitably between both parties; and while with the moſt patriotic ſteadineſs he reſiſted every attempt of the military to ſeize any thing with a high hand, he ſet the example himſelf; and uſed every art of perſuaſion to induce his countrymen to every conceſſion that could conduce to the eaſe and comfort of their protectors. So far at length he ſucceeded; that when the regiment, to which I allude, arrived in town, and ſhewed in general an amiable and obliging diſpoſition, they were quartered in different houſes; the ſuperior officers being lodged willingly by the moſt reſpectable of the inhabitants, ſuch as, not having large families, had room to accommodate them. The Colonel and Madame happened at the time of theſe arrangements, to be at New York.

In

In the mean while ſociety began to aſſume a new aſpect ; of the ſatellites, which on various pretexts, official and commercial, had followed the army, ſeveral had families, and thoſe began to mingle more frequently with the inhabitants : who were as yet too ſimple to detect the ſurreptitious tone of lax morals and ſecond-hand manners, which prevailed among many of thoſe who had but very lately climbed up to the ſtations they held, and in whoſe houſes the European modes and diverſions were to be met with ; theſe were not in the beſt ſtyle, yet even in that ſtyle they began to be reliſhed by ſome young perſons, with whom the power of novelty prevailed over that of habit ; and in a few rare inſtances, the influence of the young drew the old into a faint conſent to theſe attempted innovations ; but with many the reſiſtance was not to be overcome.

In this ſtate of matters, one guardian genius watched over the community with unremitting vigilance. From the original ſettlement of the place there had been a ſucceſſion of good quiet clergymen ; who came

from

from Holland to take the command of this expatriated colony. Theſe good men found an eaſy charge, among a people with whom the external duties of religion were ſettled habits, which no one thought of diſpenſing with; and where the primitive ſtate of manners, and the conſtant occupation of the mind in planting and defending a territory where every thing was, as it were, to be new created, was a preſervation to the morals. Religion being never branded with the reproach of imputed hypocriſy, or darkened by the frown of auſtere bigotry, was venerated even by thoſe who were content to glide thoughtleſs down the ſtream of time, without ſeriouſly conſidering whither it was conveying them, till ſorrow or ſickneſs reminded them of the great purpoſe for which they were indulged with the privilege of exiſtence.

The dominees, as theſe people called their miniſters, contented themſelves with preaching in a ſober and moderate ſtrain to the people; and, living quietly in the retirement of their families, were little heard of

but

but in the pulpit; and they ſeemed to conſider a ſtudious privacy as one of their chief duties. Domine Freylinghauſen, however, was not contented with this quietude, which he ſeemed to conſider as tending to languiſh into indifference. Ardent in his diſpoſition, eloquent in his preaching, animated and zealous in his converſation, and frank and popular in his manners, he thought it his duty to awaken in every breaſt that ſlumbering ſpirit of devotion, which he conſidered as lulled by ſecurity, or drooping in the meridian of proſperity, like tender plants in the blaze of ſunſhine. Theſe he endeavoured to refreſh by daily exhortation, as well as by the exerciſe of his public duties. Though rigid in ſome of his notions, his life was ſpotleſs, and his concern for his people warm and affectionate; his endeavours to amend and inſpire them with happier deſires and aims, were conſidered as the labour of love, and rewarded by the warmeſt affection, and the moſt profound veneration; and what to him was of much more value, by a growing ſolicitude for the

the attainment of that higher order of excellence, which it was his delight to point out to them. But while he thus inceſſantly "allured to brighter worlds, and led the way," he might perhaps inſenſibly have acquired a taſte of dominion, which might make him unwilling to part with any portion of that moſt deſirable ſpecies of power, which ſubjects to us, not human actions only, but the will which directs them. A vulgar ambition contents itſelf with power to command obedience, but the more exalted and refined ambition aims at a domination over mind. Hence the leaders of a ſect, or even thoſe who have powers to awake the dying embers of pious fervour, ſway the hearts of their followers in a manner far more gratifying to them, than any enjoyment to be derived from temporal power. That this deſire ſhould unconſciouſly gain ground in a virtuous and ardent mind, is not wonderful; when one conſiders how the beſt propenſities of the human heart are flattered, by ſuppoſing that we only ſway the minds of others, to incline

cline them to the paths of peace and happineſs, and derive no other advantage from this tacit ſovereignty, but that of ſeeing thoſe objects of affectionate ſolicitude grow wiſer and better.

To return to the apoſtolic and much beloved Freylinghauſen. The progreſs which this regiment made in the good graces of his flock, and the gradual aſſimilation to Engliſh manners of a very inferior ſtandard, alarmed and grieved the good man not a little; and the intelligence he received from ſome of the elders of his church, who had the honour of lodging the more diſſipated ſubalterns, did not adminiſter much comfort to him. By this time the Anglomania was beginning to ſpread. A ſect aroſe among the young people, who ſeemed reſolved to aſſume a lighter ſtyle of dreſs and manners, and to borrow their taſte in thoſe reſpects from their new friends. This bade fair ſoon to undo all the good paſtor's labours. The evil was daily growing; and what, alas, could Domine Freylinghauſen do but preach! This he did earneſtly,

earneſtly, and even angrily, but in vain. Many were exaſperated but none reclaimed. The good domine, however, had thoſe who ſhared his ſorrows and reſentments; the elder and wiſer heads of families, indeed a great majority of the primitive inhabitants, were ſtedfaſt againſt innovation. The colonel of the regiment, who was a man of faſhion and family, and poſſeſſed talents for both good and evil purpoſes, was young and gay; and being lodged in the houſe of a very wealthy citizen, who had before, in ſome degree, affected the newer modes of living, ſo captivated him with his good breeding and affability, that he was ready to humour any ſcheme of diverſion which the colonel and his aſſociates propoſed. Under the auſpices of this gallant commander, balls began to be concerted, and a degree of flutter and frivolity to take place, which was as far from elegance as it was from the honeſt artleſs cheerfulneſs of the meetings uſual among them. The good domine more and more alarmed, not content with preaching, now began to

pro-

prophecy : but like Caſſandra, or to ſpeak as juſtly, though leſs poetically, like his whole fraternity, was doomed always to deliver true predictions to thoſe who never heeded them.

CHAP. III.

Plays acted.—Diſpleaſure of the Domine.

Now the very ultimatum of degeneracy, in the opinion of theſe ſimple good people, was approaching; for now the officers, encouraged by the ſucceſs of all their projects for amuſement, reſolved to new faſhion and enlighten thoſe amiable novices whom their former ſchemes had attracted within the ſphere of their influence; and, for this purpoſe, a private theatre was fitted up, and preparations made for acting a play; except the Schuylers and their adopted family, there was not perhaps one of the natives who underſtood what was meant by a play. And by this time, the town, once ſo cloſely united by intermarriages and numberleſs other ties, which could not exiſt in any other ſtate of ſociety, were divided into two factions: one conſiſting almoſt entirely of ſuch of the younger claſs

claſs, as, having a ſmattering of New York education, and a little more of dreſs and vivacity, or perhaps levity, than the reſt, were eager to mingle in the ſociety, and adopt the manners of thoſe ſtrangers. It is but juſt, however, to add, that only a few of the more eſtimable were included in this number; theſe, however they might have been captivated with novelty and plauſibility, were too much attached to their older relations to give them pain, by an intimacy with people to whom an impious neglect of duties the moſt ſacred was generally imputed, and whoſe manner of treating their inferiors, at that diſtance from the controul of higher powers, was often ſuch as to juſtify the imputation of cruelty, which the ſeverity of military puniſhments had given riſe to. The play, however, was acted in a barn, and pretty well attended, notwithſtanding the good Domine's earneſt charges to the contrary. It was the Beaux Stratagem; no favourable ſpecimen of the delicacy or morality of the Britiſh theatre; and as for the wit it contains, very little of

that

that was level to the comprehenſion of the novices who were there firſt initiated into a knowledge of the magic of the ſcene, yet they "laughed conſumedly," as Scrub ſays, and actually did ſo, "becauſe they were talking of him." They laughed at Scrub's geſtures and appearance; and they laughed very heartily at ſeeing the gay young enſigns, whom they had been uſed to dance with, flirting fans, diſplaying great hoops, and, with painted cheeks and coloured eye-brows, ſailing about in female habiliments. This was a jeſt palpable and level to every underſtanding; and it was not only an excellent good one, but laſted a long while; for every time they looked at them when reſtored to their own habits, they laughed anew at the recollection of their late maſquerade. "It is much," ſays Falſtaff, "that a lie with a grave face, and a jeſt with a ſad brow, will do with a fellow who never had the ache in his ſhoulders." One need only look back to the firſt rude efforts at comic humour which delighted our fathers, to know what groſs and feeble

jeſts amuſe the mind, as yet a ſtranger to refinement. The loud and artleſs mirth ſo eaſily excited in a good humoured child, the *naïveté* of its odd queſtions and ignorant wonder, which delight us while aſſociated with innocence and ſimplicity, would provoke the utmoſt diſguſt if we met with them where we look for intelligence and decorous obſervances. The ſimplicity of primitive manners, in what regards the petty amuſements, and minute attentions, to which we have become accuſtomed, is exactly tantamount to that of childhood: it is a thing which, in our ſtate of ſociety, we have no idea of. Thoſe who are from their depreſſed ſituation ignorant of the forms of poliſhed life, know, at leaſt, that ſuch exiſt; and either awkwardly imitate them, or carefully avoid committing themſelves, by betraying their ignorance. Here, while this ſimplicity, (which, by the bye, was no more vulgar than that of Shakeſpeare's Miranda,) with its concomitant purity, continued unbroken by foreign modes, it had all the charm of undeſigning childhood; but when half

half education and ill supported pretensions took place of this sweet attraction, it assumed a very different aspect; it was no longer simplicity, but vulgarity. There are things that every one feels and no one can describe; and this is one of them.

But to return to our Mirandas and their theatrical heroes: the fame of their exhibitions went abroad, and opinions were formed of them no way favourable to the actors or to the audience. In this region of reality, where rigid truth was always undisguised, they had not learned to distinguish between fiction and falsehood. It was said that the officers, familiar with every vice and every disguise, had not only spent a whole night in telling lies in a counterfeited place, the reality of which had never existed, but that they were themselves a lie, and had degraded manhood, and broke through an express prohibition in Scripture, by assuming female habits; that they had not only told lies, but cursed and swore the whole night; and assumed the characters of knaves, fools, and robbers, which every

every good and wiſe man held in deteſtation, and no one would put on unleſs they felt themſelves eaſy in them. Painting their faces, of all other things, ſeemed moſt to violate the Albanian ideas of decorum, and was looked upon as a moſt flagrant abomination. Great and loud was the outcry produced by it. Little ſkilled in ſophiſtry, and ſtrangers to all the arts "that make the worſe appear the better reaſon," the young auditors could only ſay "that indeed it was very amuſing; made them laugh heartily, and did harm to nobody." So harmleſs, indeed, and agreeable did this entertainment appear to the new converts to faſhion, that the Recruiting Officer was given out for another night, to the great annoyance of M. Freylinghauſen, who invoked heaven and earth to witneſs and avenge this contempt, not only of his authority, but, as he expreſſed it, of the ſource from whence it was derived. Such had been the ſanctity of this good man's life, and the laborious diligence and awful earneſtneſs with which he inculcated the doc-

trines he taught, that they had produced a correſpondent effect, for the moſt part, on the lives of his hearers, and led them to regard him as the next thing to an evangeliſt; accuſtomed to ſucceſs in all his undertakings, and to "honour, love, obedience, troops of friends," and all that gratitude and veneration can offer to its moſt diſtinguiſhed object, this rebellion againſt his authority, and contempt of his opinion, (once the ſtandard by which every one's judgment was regulated,) wounded him very deeply. The abhorrence with which he inſpired the parents of the tranſgreſſors, among whom were many young men of ſpirit and intelligence, was the occaſion of ſome family diſagreements, a thing formerly ſcarcely known. Thoſe young people, accuſtomed to regard their parents with implicit reverence, were unwilling to impute to them unqualified harſhneſs, and therefore removed the blame of a conduct ſo unuſual to their ſpiritual guide; "and while he thought, good eaſy man, full ſurely his greatneſs was a ripening, nipt his root."

Early

Early one Monday morning, after the Domine had, on the preceding day, been peculiarly eloquent on the ſubject of theatrical amuſements, and pernicious innovations, ſome unknown perſon left within his door a club, a pair of old ſhoes, a cruſt of black bread, and a dollar. The worthy paſtor was puzzled to think what this could mean; but had it too ſoon explained to him. It was an emblematic meſſage, to ſignify the deſire entertained of his departure. The ſtick was to puſh him away, the ſhoes to wear on the road, and the bread and money a proviſion for his journey. Theſe ſymbols appear, in former days, to have been more commonly uſed, and better underſtood than at preſent; for inſtance, we find that when Robert Bruce, afterwards King of Scotland, was in a kind of honourable captivity in the court of England; when his friend, the Earl of Gloceſter, diſcovered that it was the intention of the King to impriſon him in the tower, leſt he ſhould eſcape to Scotland and aſſert his rights, unwilling by word or writing to diſ-

cover what had paſſed in council, and at the ſame time deſirous to ſave his friend, he ſent him a pair of gilt ſpurs and twelve crowns, and ordered the ſervant to carry them to him as returning what he had formerly borrowed from him. This myſterious gift and meſſage was immediately underſtood; and proved the means of reſtoring Bruce, and, with him, the laws and liberty of his native kingdom. Very different, however, was the effect produced by this mal à-propos ſymbol of diſlike. Too conſcious, and too fond, of popularity, the paſtor languiſhed under a ſenſe of imaginary degradation, grew jealous, and thought every one alienated from him, becauſe a few giddy young people were ſtimulated by momentary reſentments to expreſs diſapprobation in this vague and dubious manner. Thus, inſenſibly, do vanity and ſelf opinion mingle with our higheſt duties. Had the Domine, ſatisfied with the teſtimony of a good conſcience, gone on in the exerciſe of his duty, and been above allowing little perſonal reſentments to mingle with his zeal

for

for what he thought right, he might have felt himself far above an insult of this kind; but he found to his cost, that " a habitation giddy and unsure hath he, that buildeth on the fickle heart" of the unsteady, wavering multitude.

CHAP. IV.

Return of Madame.—The Domine leaves his People.—Fulfilment of his Predictions.

MADAME now returned to town with the colonel; and finding this general diſorder and diviſion of ſentiments with regard to the paſtor, as well as to the adoption of new modes, endeavoured, with her uſual good ſenſe, to moderate and to heal. She was always of opinion that the increaſe of wealth ſhould be accompanied with a proportionate progreſs in refinement and intelligence; but ſhe had a particular diſlike to people's forſaking a reſpectable plainneſs of dreſs and manners for mere imperfect imitation, and inelegant finery. She knew too well the progreſs of ſociety to expect, that, as it grew wealthy and numerous, it would retain its priſtine purity; but then ſhe preferred a "gradual abolition" of old habits, that people, as they receded from their original

original modes of thinking and living, might rather become ſimply elegant, than tawdrily fine; and though ſhe all along wiſhed, in every poſſible way, to promote the comfort of the brave men to whom the country owed ſo much, ſhe by no means thought an indiſcriminate admiſſion of thoſe ſtrangers among the youth of the place, ſo unpractiſed in the ways of the world, an adviſeable meaſure: ſhe was particularly diſpleaſed with the perſon in whoſe houſe the colonel of the regiment lodged, for ſo entirely domeſticating a ſhewy ſtranger, of whoſe real character he knew ſo little. Liberal and judicious in her views, ſhe did not altogether approve the auſterity of the Domine's opinions, nor the vehemence of his language; and, as a Chriſtian, ſhe ſtill leſs approved his dejection and concern at the neglect or rudeneſs of a few thoughtleſs young perſons. In vain the colonel and Madame ſoothed and cheared him with counſel and with kindneſs; night and day he muſed on the imagined inſult; nor could the joint efforts of the moſt reſpectable in-

habitants prevent his heart from being corroded with the ſenſe of imagined unkindneſs. At length he took the reſolution of leaving thoſe people ſo dear to him, to viſit his friends in Holland, promiſing to return in a ſhort time, whenever his health was reſtored, and his ſpirits more compoſed. A Dutch ſhip happened about this time to touch at New York, on board of which the Domine embarked; but as the veſſel belonging to Holland was not expected to return, and he did not, as he had promiſed, either write or return in an Engliſh ſhip, his congregation remained for a great while unſupplied, while his ſilence gave room for the moſt anxious and painful conjectures; theſe were not ſoon removed, for the intercourſe with Holland was not frequent or direct. At length, however, the ſad reality was but too well aſcertained. This victim of loſt popularity had appeared ſilent and melancholy to his ſhipmates, and walked conſtantly on deck. At length he ſuddenly diſappeared, leaving it doubtful whether he had fallen overboard by accident, or was

prompted by deſpair to plunge into eternity. If this latter was the caſe, it muſt have been the conſequence of a temporary fit of inſanity; for no man had led a more ſpotleſs life, and no man was more beloved by all that were intimately known to him. He was, indeed, before the fatal affront, which made ſuch an undue impreſſion on him, conſidered as a bleſſing to the place; and his memory was ſo beloved, and his fate ſo regretted, that this, in addition to ſome other occurrences falling out about the ſame time, entirely turned the tide of opinion, and rendered the thinking as well as the violent party, more averſe to innovations than ever. Had the Albanians been catholics, they would probably have canonized M. Freylinghauſen, whom they conſidered as a martyr to levity and innovation. He propheſied a great deal; ſuch prophecy as ardent and comprehenſive minds have delivered, without any other inſpiration but that of the ſound, ſtrong intellect, which augurs the future from a compariſon with the paſt, and a rational

deduction of probable consequences. The affection that was entertained for his memory induced people to listen to the most romantic stories of his being landed on an island, and become a hermit; taken up into a ship when floating on the sea, into which he had accidentally fallen, and carried to some remote country, from which he was expected to return, fraught with experience and faith. I remember some of my earliest reveries to have been occupied by the mysterious disappearance of this hard-fated pastor.

In the meanwhile new events were unfolding more fully to the Albanians the characters of their lately acquired friends. Scandal of fifty years standing, must, by this time, have become almost pointless. The house where the young colonel, formerly mentioned, was billetted, and made his quarters good by every art of seductive courtesy, was occupied by a person wealthy, and somewhat vain and shallow, who had an only daughter; I am not certain, but I think she was his only child. She was

young, lively, bold, conceited, and exceedingly well-looking. Artleſs and fearleſs of conſequences, this thoughtleſs creature ſaw every day a perſon who was, no doubt, as much pleaſed with her as one could be with mere youth, beauty, and kindneſs, animated by vivacity, and diſtinguiſhed from her companions by all the embelliſhments which wealth could procure in that unfaſhioned quarter; his heart, however, was ſafe, as will appear from the ſequel. Madame foreſaw the conſequences likely to reſult from an intimacy daily growing, where there was little prudence on the one ſide, and as little of that honour which ſhould reſpect unſuſpecting innocence on the other. She warned the family, but in vain; they conſidered marriage as the worſt conſequence that could enſue; and this they could not eaſily have been reconciled to, notwithſtanding the family and fortune of the lover, had not his addreſs and attentions charmed them into a kind of tacit acquieſcence; for, as a Roman citizen in the proud days of the republic, would

have refuſed his daughter to a king, an Albanian, at one period, would rather have his daughter married to the meaneſt of his fellow-citizens, than to a perſon of the higheſt rank in the army, beçauſe they thought a young perſon, by ſuch a marriage, was not only for ever alienated from her family, but from thoſe pure morals and plain manners, in which they conſidered the greateſt poſſible happineſs to exiſt. To return;—

While theſe gaieties were going on, and the unhappy Domine embarking on the voyage which terminated his career, an order came for the colonel to march; this was the only commander who had ever been in town who had not ſpent any time, or aſked any counſel at the Flats. Meanwhile his Caliſta (for ſuch ſhe was) tore her hair in frantic agonies at his departure; not that ſhe in the leaſt doubted of his returning ſoon to give a public ſanction to their union, but leſt he ſhould prove a victim to the war then exiſting; and becauſe, being very impetuous, and unaccuſtomed to controul,

troul, the object of her wiſhes had been delayed to a future period. In a ſhort time things began to aſſume a more ſerious aſpect; and her father came one day poſting to the Flats, on his way to the lakes, ſeeking counſel too late, and requeſting the aid of their influence to bring about a marriage, which ſhould cover the diſgrace of his family. They had little hopes of his ſucceſs, yet he proceeded; and finding the colonel deaf to all his arguments, he had recourſe to entreaty, and finally offered to diveſt himſelf of all but a mere ſubſiſtence, and give him ſuch a fortune as was never heard of in that country. This, with an angel, as the fond father thought her, appeared irreſiſtible; but no! heir to a conſiderable fortune in his own country, and perhaps inwardly deſpiſing a romp, whom he had not conſidered from the firſt as eſtimable, he was not to be ſoothed or bribed into compliance. The dejected father returned diſconſolate; and the aſtoniſhment and horror this altogether novel occurrence occaſioned in the town, was not

to

to be deſcribed. Of ſuch a circumſtance there was no exiſting precedent; half the city were related to the fair culprit, for penitent ſhe could hardly be called. This unexpected refuſal threw the whole city into conſternation. One would have thought there had been an earthquake; and all the inſulted Domine's predictions roſe to remembrance, armed with avenging terrors.

Many other things occurred to juſtify the Domine's caution; and the extreme reluctance which the elders of the land ſhewed to all ſuch aſſociations. All this Madame greatly lamented, yet could not acquit the parties concerned, whoſe duty it was, either to keep their daughters from that ſociety for which their undiſguiſed ſimplicity of heart unfitted them, or give them that culture and uſage of life, which enables a young perſon to maintain a certain dignity, and to revolt at the firſt treſpaſs on decorum. Her own protegeés were inſtances of this; who, having their minds early ſtored with ſentiments, ſuch as would enable them

them truly to eſtimate their own value, and judge of the characters and pretenſions of thoſe who converſed with them; all conducted themſelves with the utmoſt propriety, though daily mixing with ſtrangers, and were ſolicited in marriage by the firſt people in the province, who thought themſelves happy to ſelect companions from ſuch a ſchool of intelligence and politeneſs, where they found beauty of the firſt order informed by mind, and graced by the moſt pleaſing manners.

CHAP. V.

Death of Colonel Schuyler.

THIS year (1757) was marked by an event that not only clouded the future life of Madame, but occaſioned the deepeſt concern to the whole province. Colonel Schuyler was ſcarcely ſenſible of the decline of life, except ſome attacks of the rheumatiſm, to which the people of that country are peculiarly ſubject: he enjoyed found health and equal ſpirits, and had upon the whole, from the temperance of his habits, and the ſingular equanimity of his mind, a more likely proſpect of prolonging his happy and uſeful life, than falls to the lot of moſt people. He had, however, in very cold weather, gone to town to viſit a relation, then ill of a pleuriſy; and having ſat a while by the invalid, and converſed with him both on his worldly

worldly and ſpiritual affairs, he returned very thoughtful. On riſing the next morning, he began the day, as had for many years been his cuſtom, with ſinging ſome verſes of a pſalm in his cloſet. Madame obſerved that he was interrupted by a moſt violent fit of ſneezing; this returned again a little after, when he calmly told her, that he felt the ſymptoms of a pleuritic attack, which had begun in the ſame manner with that of his friend; that the event might poſſibly prove fatal; but that knowing as ſhe did how long a period* of more than common felicity had been granted to their mutual affection, and with what tranquillity he was enabled to look forward to that event which is common to all, and which would be earneſtly deſired if withheld; he expected of her that, whatever might happen, ſhe would look back with gratitude, and forward with hope; and in the mean time honour his memory, and her own profeſſion of faith, by continuing to live in the manner they

* Forty years.

had

had hitherto done, that he might have the comfort of thinking that his houſe might ſtill be an aſylum to the helpleſs and the ſtranger, and a deſirable place of meeting to his moſt valued friends: this was ſpoken with an unaltered countenance, and in a calm and even tone. Madame, however, was alarmed; friends from all quarters poured in, with the moſt anxious concern for the event. By this time there was an hoſpital built at Albany for the troops; with a regular medical eſtabliſhment. No human aid was wanting, and the compoſure of Madame aſtoniſhed every one. This, however, was founded on hope; for ſhe never could let herſelf imagine the danger ſerious, being flattered both by the medical attendants, and the ſingular fortitude of the patient. He, however, continued to arrange all things for the change he expected: he left his houſes in town and country, his plate, and in ſhort all his effects, to his wife, at her ſole diſpoſal; his eſtates were finally left to the orphan ſon of his nephew, then a child in the family;

family; but Madame was to enjoy the rents during her life.

His negroes, for whom he had a great affection, were admitted every day to visit him; and with all the ardour of attachment peculiar to that kind-hearted race, implored heaven day and night for his recovery. The day before his death, he had them all called round his bed, and in their presence besought of Madame that she would upon no account sell any of them: this request he would not have made could he have foreseen the consequences. On the fifth day of his illness, he quietly breathed his last; having expressed, while he was able to articulate, the most perfect confidence in the mercy of the God whom he had diligently served and entirely trusted; and the most tender attachment to the friends he was about to leave.

It would be a vain attempt to describe the sorrow of a family like his, who had all been accustomed from childhood to look up to him as the first of mankind, and the medium through which they received

ceived every earthly bleſſing; while the ſerenity of his wiſdom, the ſweet and gentle caſt of his heartfelt piety, and the equal mildneſs of his temper, rendered him incapable of embittering obligations: ſo that his generous humanity and liberal hoſpitality, were adorned by all the graces that courteſy could add to kindneſs. The public voice was loud in its plaudits and lamentations. In the various characters of a patriot, a hero, and a ſaint, he was dear to all the friends of valour, humanity, and public ſpirit; while his fervent loyalty, and unvaried attachment to the king, and the laws of that country by which his own was protected, endeared him to all the ſervants of government; who knew they never ſhould meet with another equally able, or equally diſpoſed to ſmooth their way in the paths of duty aſſigned to them.

To government this loſs would have been irreparable, had not two ſingular and highly meritorious characters a little before this time made their appearance, and by ſuperiority of merit and abilities, joined with in-

integrity ſeldom to be met with any where, in ſome degree ſupplied the loſs to the public. One of theſe was Sir William Johnſon, the Indian ſuperintendant, formerly mentioned; the other was Cadwallader Colden, for a very long period of years lieutenant-governor (indeed virtually governor) of New York; who in point of political ſagacity, and thorough knowledge of thoſe he governed, was fully capable to ſupply that place. This ſhrewd and able ruler, whoſe origin I believe was not very eaſily traced, was ſaid to be a Scotchman, and had raiſed himſelf ſolely by his merit to the ſtation he held. In this he maintained himſelf by indefatigable diligence, rigid juſtice, and the moſt perfect impartiality. He neither ſought to be feared nor loved, but merely to be eſteemed and truſted, and thus fixed his power on the broad foundation of public utility. Succeſſive governors, little acquainted with the country, and equally ſtrangers to buſineſs, found it convenient to leave the management with him; who con-

confeſſedly underſtood it better than any one elſe, and who had no friends but a few perſonal ones, and no enemies but a few public ones, who envied his ſtation. It was very extraordinary to ſee a man rule ſo long and ſo ſteadily, where he was merely and coldly eſteemed; with ſo few of the advantages that generally procure ſucceſs in the world, without birth or alliance; he had not even the recommendation of a pleaſing appearance, or inſinuating addreſs. He was diminutive, and ſomewhat more than high-ſhouldered; the contraſt betwixt the wealth of his mind, and the poverty of his outward appearance, might remind one of Æſop, or rather of the faithful though ill-ſhaped herald of Ulyſſes:

> "Eurybutes, in whoſe large mind alone,
> Ulyſſes viewed the image of his own."

Thus it was with Colden. Among the number of governors who ſucceeded each other in his time, if by chance one happened to be a man of ability, he eſtimated his

his merit at its juſt rate; and whatever original meaſure he might find it neceſſary to take for the public good, left the common routine of buſineſs in the hands of that tried integrity and experience, in which he found them; ſatisfied with the ſtate and the popularity of governor, on which the other had not a wiſh to encroach. Colden, however, enriched his own family, in a manner on the whole not objectionable: he procured from the ſucceſſive governors various grants of land, which, though valuable in quality, were not, from the remoteneſs of their ſituation, an object of deſire to ſettlers; and purchaſed grants from many, who had obtained the property of them, among which were different governors and military commanders. He allowed this mine of future wealth to lie quietly ripening to its value, till the lands near it were, in proceſs of time, ſettled, and it became a deſirable object to purchaſe or hold on leaſe.

CHAP. VI.

Mrs. Schuyler's Arrangements and Conduct after the Colonel's Death.

THE mind of our good aunt, which had never before yielded to calamity, ſeemed altogether ſubdued by the painful ſeparation from her huſband. Never having left her conſort's bed-ſide, or known the refreſhment of a quiet ſleep, during his illneſs, ſhe ſunk at firſt into a kind of torpor, which her friends willingly miſtook for the effects of reſignation. This was ſoon ſucceeded by the moſt acute ſorrow, and a dangerous illneſs, the conſequence of her mental ſuffering. In ſpring ſhe ſlowly recovered, and endeavoured to find conſolation in returning to the regulation of her family, and the ſociety of her friends, for both which ſhe had been for ſome months diſqualified. Her nieces, the Miſs Cuylers, were a great comfort to her, from their affectionate

fectionate attention, and the pleaſure ſhe took in ſeeing them growing up to be all that her maternal affection could wiſh. In the ſocial grief of Pedrom *, who gave all his time to her during the early part of her widowhood, ſhe alſo found conſolation; and whenever ſhe was able to receive them, her friends came from all quarters to expreſs their ſympathy and their reſpect. The colonel's heir and her own eldeſt nephew made, with one of her nieces, a part of her family; and the neceſſity of attending to ſuch affairs as formerly lay within the colonel's province, ſerved further to occupy her mind; yet her thoughts continually recurred to that loſs, which ſhe daily felt more and more. She had buried the colonel in a ſpot within a ſhort diſtance of his own houſe, in which he had formerly deſired to repoſe, that his remains might not quit a ſcene ſo dear to him; and that the place rendered ſacred by his aſhes, might in future be a common ſepulture to his family; that he might in death, as in life, be ſur-

* The colonel's brother Peter, ſo called.

rounded by the objects of his affection and beneficence. This consecrated spot, about the size of a small flower garden, was inclosed for this purpose, and a tomb-stone, with a suitable inscription, erected over the grave, where this excellent person's relict proposed her ashes should mingle with his. In the mean time, though by continually speaking of her deceased friend, she passed the day without much visible agitation, she had fallen into a habit of vigilance; rarely sleeping till morning, and suffering through the silent hours from a periodical agony, for such it might be called, with which she was regularly visited. She had a confidante in this secret suffering; a decent and pious woman, who, on the death of her husband, a serjeant in the army, had been received into this family as a kind of upper domestic; and found herself so happy, and made herself so useful in teaching reading and needlework to the children, that she still remained. This good woman slept in aunt's room; and when all the family were at rest, she used to accompany her to a small distance

from the tomb which contained thoſe remains ſo dear to her. Madame, in the mean time, entered alone into the hallowed incloſure, and there indulged her unavailing ſorrow. This ſhe continued to do for ſome time, as ſhe thought, unobſerved; but being very tall, and become large as ſhe advanced in life, her figure, arrayed in her night-clothes, was very conſpicuous, and was on different occaſions obſerved by neighbours, who occaſionally paſſed by at night; the conſequence was, that it was rumoured that an apparition was ſeen every night near the colonel's grave. This came to the ears of the people of the houſe, ſome of whom had the curioſity to watch at a diſtance, and ſaw the dreaded form appear, and, as they thought, vaniſh. This they carefully concealed from their revered patroneſs. Every one elſe in the houſe however heard it; and a penſive air of awe and myſtery overſpread the whole family. Her confidante, however, told her of it; and the conſequence of this improper indulgence of ſorrow greatly increaſed the diſlike which Madame had always

expreſſed for myſtery and concealment. She was unwilling to let a family, to whom ſhe had always ſet ſuch an example of ſelf-command, know of her indulging a weakneſs ſo unſuitable to her character and time of life. At the ſame time, however, ſhe was reſolved not to allow the belief of a ſupernatural appearance to faſten on their minds; unwilling to mention the ſubject herſelf, ſhe was forced to ſubmit to the humiliation of having it revealed by her confidante, to quiet the minds of the children and domeſtics, and reconcile them to ſolitude and moon-light.

Her mind was at this time rouſed from her own peculiar ſorrows, by an alarming event, which diſturbed the public tranquillity, and awakened the fears of the whole province, by laying open the weſtern frontier. This was the taking of Oſwego by the French, which fortreſs was the only barrier, except the valour and conduct of Sir William Johnſon and his Mohawk friends, by which the town was protected on that ſide. The poor people, who were driven

driven by the terror of this event from the ſettlements in that quarter, excited the ſympathy of liberal minded perſons; and the intereſt which ſhe took in their diſtreſſes, was one of the firſt things that rouſed the attention of our good aunt to her wonted beneficent exertions. General Bradſtreet, who had a high reſpect for her underſtanding, and conſulted her on all emergencies, had a profound reverence for the colonel's memory, and continued his intimacy in the family. The critical ſituation of things at this time, occaſioned Lord Loudon to be ſent out as commander of the forces in America. Madame received this nobleman when he viſited Albany, and gave him moſt uſeful information. He was introduced to her by General Bradſtreet, whoſe power and conſequence might be ſaid to increaſe with the diſaſters of the country; his department was a very lucrative one, and enabled him, firſt, greatly to enrich himſelf, and, in proceſs of time, his friend Philip Schuyler, who, from his deputy, became, in a manner, his coadjutor. Albany

now ſwarmed with engineers, planners, architects, and boat-builders. Various military characters, ſince highly diſtinguiſhed, whoſe names I do not recollect, though once familiar to me, obtained introductions to Madame, who began once more to occupy her mind with public matters, and to open her houſe to the more reſpected and well known characters among the military. Her brother-in-law, whom I have ſo often mentioned under the affectionate appellation of Pedrom, by which he was known in the family, being within leſs than half an hour's walk, ſpent much of his time with her, and received her company. This he was well qualified to do, being a perſon of a comely dignified appearance, and frank, eaſy manners, inferior only to his late brother in depth of reflection, and comprehenſion of mind.

CHAP. VII.

Mohawk Indians.—The Superintendant.

BY this time matters had gradually aſſumed a new aſpect on this great continent. The ſettlement at Albany was no longer an inſulated region, ruled and defended by the wiſdom and courage diffuſed through the general maſs of the inhabitants; but begun, in the ordinary courſe of things, to incorporate with the general ſtate. The Mohawk Indians were ſo engaged by treaties to aſſiſt the army, in its now regular operations to the weſtward, that they came leſs frequently to viſit Albany. A line of forts had, at a prodigious expence, been erected, leading from Albany to Upper Canada, by the Mohawk river, and the lakes of Ontario, Niagara, &c. Many reſpectable engineers were engaged conſtructing theſe; ſome of them I remember were Swedes, perſons of a

graceful appearance, polished manners, and very correct conduct. These strangers conducted matters better than our own countrymen: being more accommodating in their manners, and better accustomed to a severe climate, and inconveniencies of every kind. They were frequent guests at the Flats, were a pleasing accession to the society, and performed their duty to the public with a degree of honour and fidelity that checked abuses in others, and rescued the service they were engaged in, from the reproach which it had incurred, in consequence of those fungi of society which had at first intruded into it.

By the advice of the Schuylers, there was now on the Mohawk river a superintendant of Indian affairs; the importance of which began to be fully understood. He was regularly appointed, and paid by government. This was the justly celebrated Sir William Johnson, who held an office difficult both to execute and define. He might indeed be called the tribune of the five nations: whose claims he asserted, whose

whoſe rights he protected, and over whoſe minds he poſſeſſed a greater ſway than any other individual had ever attained. He was indeed calculated to conciliate and retain the affections of this brave people; poſſeſſing in common with them many of thoſe peculiarities of mind and manners, that diſtinguiſhed them from others. He was an uncommonly tall, well made man: with a fine countenance; which, however, had rather and expreſſion of dignified ſedateneſs, approaching to melancholy. He appeared to be taciturn, never waſting words on matters of no importance: but highly eloquent when the occaſion called forth his powers. He poſſeſſed intuitive ſagacity, and the moſt entire command of temper, and of countenance. He did by no means loſe ſight of his own intereſt, but on the contrary raiſed himſelf to power and wealth, in an open and active manner; not diſdaining any honourable means of benefiting himſelf: but at the ſame time the bad policy, as well as meanneſs of ſacrificing reſpectability, to ſnatching at petty preſent advantages, were

ſo obvious to him, that he laid the foundation of his future proſperity on the broad and deep baſis of honourable dealing, accompanied by the moſt vigilant attention to the objects he had in view; acting ſo as, without the leaſt departure from integrity on the one hand, or inattention to his affairs on the other, to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner, as gave an air of magnanimity to his character, that made him the object of univerſal confidence. He purchaſed from the Indians (having the grant confirmed by his ſovereign) a large and fertile tract of land upon the Mohawk river; where having cleared and cultivated the ground, he built two ſpacious and convenient places of reſidence: known afterwards by the names of Johnſon caſtle, and Johnſon hall. The firſt was on a fine eminence, ſtockaded round, and ſlightly fortified; the laſt was built on the ſide of the river, on a moſt fertile and delightful plain, ſurrounded with an ample and well cultivated domain: and that again encircled by European ſettlers; who had firſt come there as architects,

tects, or workmen, and had been induced by Sir William's liberality, and the singular beauty of the district, to continue. His trade with the five nations was very much for their advantage; he supplying them on more equitable terms than any trader, and not indulging the excesses in regard to strong liquors, which others were too easily induced to do. The castle contained the store in which all goods were laid up, which were meant for the Indian traffic, and all the peltry received in exchange. The hall was his summer residence, and the place round which his greatest improvements were made. Here this singular man lived like a little sovereign; kept an excellent table for strangers, and officers, whom the course of their duty now frequently led into these wilds, and by confiding entirely on the Indians, and treating them with unvaried truth and justice, without ever yielding to solicitation what he had once refused, he taught them to repose entire confidence in him; he, in his turn, became attached to them, wore in winter almost en-

tirely their dreſs and ornaments, and contracted a kind of alliance with them; for becoming a widower in the prime of life, he connected himſelf with an Indian maiden, daughter to a ſachem, who poſſeſſed an uncommonly agreeable perſon, and good underſtanding; and whether ever formally married to him according to our uſage, or not, contrived to live with him in great union and affection all his life. So perfect was his dependance on thoſe people, whom his fortitude and other manly virtues had attached to him, that when they returned from their ſummer excurſions, and exchanged the laſt year's furs for fire arms, &c. they uſed to paſs a few days at the caſtle; when his family and moſt of his domeſtics were down at the hall. There they were all liberally entertained by their friend; and five hundred of them have been known, for nights together, after drinking pretty freely, to lie around him on the floor, while he was the only white perſon in a houſe containing great quantities of every thing that was to them

them valuable, or desirable. While Sir William thus united in his mode of life, the calm urbanity of a liberal and extensive trader, with the splendid hospitality, the numerous attendance, and the plain though dignified manners of an ancient baron, the female part of his family were educated in a manner so entirely dissimilar from that of all other young people of their sex and station, that as a matter of curiosity, it is worthy a recital. These two young ladies inherited, in a great measure, the personal advantages and strength of understanding, for which their father was so distinguished. Their mother dying when they were young, bequeathed the care of them to a friend. This friend was the widow of an officer who had fallen in battle; I am not sure whether she was devout, and shunned the world for fear of its pollutions, or romantic, and despised its selfish bustling spirit: but so it was, that she seemed utterly to forget it, and devoted herself to her fair pupils. To these she taught needle-work of the most elegant and in-

ingenious kinds, reading and writing: thus quietly paſſed their childhood; their monitreſs not taking the ſmalleſt concern in family management, nor indeed the leaſt intereſt in any worldly thing but themſelves; far leſs did ſhe enquire about the faſhions or diverſions which prevailed in a world ſhe had renounced; and from which ſhe ſeemed to wiſh her pupils to remain for ever eſtranged. Never was any thing ſo uniform as their dreſs, their occupations, and the general tenor of their lives. In the morning they roſe early, read their prayer-book, I believe, but certainly their bible, fed their birds, tended their flowers, and breakfaſted; then were employed for ſome hours with unwearied perſeverance, at fine needle-work, for the ornamental parts of dreſs, which were the faſhion of the day, without knowing to what uſe they were to be put, as they never wore them; and had not at the age of ſixteen ever ſeen a lady, excepting each other and their governeſs; they then read, as long as they choſe, the voluminous romances of the laſt century; of which their friend had

an

an ample collection, or Rollin's ancient hiſtory, the only books they had ever ſeen; after dinner they regularly in ſummer took a long walk; or an excurſion in the ſledge, in winter, with their friend; and then returned and reſumed their wonted occupations, with the ſole variation of a ſtroll in the garden in ſummer, and a game at cheſs, or ſhuttle-cock, in winter. Their dreſs was to the full as ſimple and uniform as every thing elſe; they wore wrappers of the fineſt chintz, and green ſilk petticoats; and this the whole year round without variation. Their hair, which was long and beautiful, was tied behind with a ſimple ribbon; a large calaſh ſhaded each from the ſun, and in winter they had long ſcarlet mantles that covered them from head to foot. Their father did not live with them, but viſited them every day in their apartment. This innocent and uniform life they led, till the death of their monitreſs; which happened when the eldeſt was not quite ſeventeen. On ſome future occaſion I ſhall ſatisfy the curioſity which this ſhort but faith-

faithful account of theſe amiable recluſes has poſſibly excited *.

* Theſe ladies married officers, who in ſucceſſion lived as aid-de-camps with their father. Their manners ſoon grew eaſy: they readily acquired the habits of ſociety, and made excellent wives.

CHAP. VIII.

General Abercrombie.—Lord Howe.

I MUST now return to Albany, and to the projected expedition.

General Abercrombie, who commanded on the northern lakes, was a brave and able man, though rather too much attached to the military ſchools of thoſe days. To accommodate himſelf to the deſultory and uncertain warfare of the woods, where ſagacity, ready preſence of mind, joined with the utmoſt caution, and a condeſcenſion of opinion to our Indian allies, was of infinitely more conſequence than rules and tactics, which were mere ſhackles and incumbrances in this contention, with difficulties and perplexities more harraſſing than mere danger. Indeed when an ambuſcade or ſudden onſet was followed by defeat, here (as in Braddock's caſe) the reſult reminded one of the rout of Abſalom's army; where, we are told,

told, the wood devoured more than the ſword. The general was a frequent gueſt with Madame, when the nature of his command would permit him to relax from the duties that occupied him. He had his men encamped below Albany, in that great field which I have formerly deſcribed, as the common paſture for the town. Many of the officers were quartered in the fort and town: but Lord Howe always lay in his tent, with the regiment which he commanded; and which he modelled in ſuch a manner, that they were ever after conſidered as an example to the whole American army: who gloried in adopting all thoſe rigid, yet ſalutary regulations, to which this young hero readily ſubmitted, to enforce his commands by his example.

Above the pedantry of holding up ſtandards of military rules, where it was impoſſible to practiſe them, and the narrow ſpirit of preferring the modes of his own country, to thoſe proved by experience, to ſuit that in which he was to act, Lord Howe laid aſide all pride and prejudice, and grate-

fully

fully accepted counſel from thoſe whom he knew to be beſt qualified to direct him. Madame was delighted with the calm ſteadineſs with which he carried through the auſtere rules which he found it neceſſary to lay down. In the firſt place he forbade all diſplays of gold and ſcarlet, in the rugged march they were about to undertake, and ſet the example by wearing himſelf an ammunition coat, that is to ſay, one of the ſurplus ſoldiers coats cut ſhort. This was a neceſſary precaution; becauſe in the woods the hoſtile Indians, who ſtarted from behind the trees, uſually caught at the long and heavy ſkirts then worn by the ſoldiers; and for the ſame reaſon he ordered the muſkets to be ſhortened, that they might not, as on former occaſions, be ſnatched from behind by theſe agile foes. To prevent the march of his regiment from being deſcried at a diſtance, by the glittering of their arms, the barrels of their guns were all blackened; and to ſave them from the tearing of buſhes, the ſtings of inſects, &c. he ſet them the example of wearing leggans,

gans, a kind of buſkin made of ſtrong woollen cloth, formerly deſcribed as a part of the Indian dreſs. The greateſt privation to the young and vain yet remained. Hair well dreſſed, and in great quantity, was then conſidered as the greateſt poſſible ornament, which thoſe who had it took the utmoſt care to diſplay to advantage, and to wear in a bag or a queue, which ever they fancied. Lord Howe's was fine, and very abundant; he, however, cropped it, and ordered every one elſe to do the ſame. Every morning he roſe very early, and, after giving his orders, rode out to the Flats, breakfaſted, and ſpent ſome time in converſation with his friends there; and when in Albany, received all manner of uſeful inforformation from the worthy magiſtrate Cornelius Cuyler. Another point which this young Lycurgus of the camp wiſhed to eſtabliſh, was that of not carrying any thing that was not abſolutely neceſſary. An apparatus of tables, chairs, and ſuch other luggage he thought highly abſurd, where people had to force their way with unſpeakable

able difficulty, to encounter an enemy free from all ſuch incumbrances. The French had long learnt how little convenience could be ſtudied on ſuch occaſions as the preſent.

When his lordſhip got matters arranged to his ſatisfaction, he invited his officers to dine with him in his tent. They gladly aſſembled at the hour appointed, but were ſurpriſed to ſee no chairs or tables; there were, however, bear-ſkins, ſpread like a carpet. His lordſhip welcomed them, and ſat down on a ſmall log of wood; they followed his example; and preſently the ſervants ſet down a large diſh of pork and peaſe. His lordſhip, taking a ſheath from his pocket, out of which he produced a knife and fork, began to cut and divide the meat. They ſat in a kind of awkward ſuſpence, which he interrupted, by aſking if it were poſſible that ſoldiers like them, who had been ſo long deſtined for ſuch a ſervice, ſhould not be provided with portable implements of this kind; and finally relieved them from their embarraſſment, by

diſtributing

diſtributing to each a caſe the ſame as his own, which he had provided for the purpoſe. The auſtere regulations, and conſtant ſelf-denial which he impoſed upon the troops he commanded, were patiently borne, becauſe he was not only gentle in his manners, but generous and humane in a very high degree, and exceedingly attentive to the health and real neceſſities of the ſoldiery. Among many inſtances of this, a quantity of powdered ginger was given to every man; and the ſerjeants were ordered to ſee, that when, in the courſe of marching, the ſoldiers arrived hot and tired at the banks of any ſtream, they ſhould not be permitted to ſtoop to drink, as they generally inclined to do, but obliged to lift water in their canteens, and mix ginger with it. This became afterwards a general practice; and in thoſe aguiſh ſwamps, through which the troops were forced to march, was the means of ſaving many lives. Aunt Schuyler, as this amiable young officer familiarly ſtyled his maternal friend, had the utmoſt eſteem for him; and the

greateſt

greateſt hope that he would at ſome future period redreſs all thoſe evils that had formerly impeded the ſervice; and perhaps plant the Britiſh ſtandard on the walls of Quebec. But this honour another young hero was deſtined to atchieve; whoſe virtues were to be illuſtrated by the ſplendour of victory, the only light by which the multitude can ſee the merits of a ſoldier.

The Schuylers regarded this expedition with a mixture of doubt and diſmay, knowing too well, from the ſad retroſpect of former failures, how little valour and diſcipline availed where regular troops had to encounter with unſeen foes, and with difficulties ariſing from the nature of the ground, for which military ſcience afforded no remedy. Of General Abercrombie's worth and valour they had the higheſt opinion; but they had no opinion of attacking an enemy ſo ſubtle and experienced on their own ground, in entrenchments, and this they feared he would have the temerity to attempt. In the mean time preparations were making for the attempt.

The

The troops were marched in detachments paſt the Flats, and each detachment quartered for a night on the common, or in the offices. One of the firſt of theſe was commanded by Lee, of frantic celebrity, who afterwards, in the American war, joined the opponents of government, and was then a captain in the Britiſh ſervice. Captain Lee had neglected to bring the cuſtomary warrants for impreſſing horſes and oxen, and procuring a ſupply of various neceſſaries, to be paid for by the agents of government on ſhewing the uſual documents; he, however, ſeized every thing he wanted where he could moſt readily find it, as if he were in a conquered country; and not content with this violence, poured forth a volley of execrations on thoſe who preſumed to queſtion his right of appropriating for his troops every thing that could be ſerviceable to them: even Madame, accuſtomed to univerſal reſpect, and to be conſidered as the friend and benefactreſs of the army, was not ſpared; and the aids which ſhe never failed to beſtow on thoſe whom

ſhe

ſhe ſaw about to expoſe their lives for the general defence, were rudely demanded, or violently ſeized. Never did the genuine chriſtianity of this exalted character ſhine more brightly than in this exigency; her countenance never altered, and ſhe uſed every argument to reſtrain the rage of her domeſtics, and the clamour of her neighbours, who were treated in the ſame manner. Lee marched on after having done all the miſchief in his power, and was the next day ſucceeded by Lord Howe, who was indignant on hearing what had happened, and aſtoniſhed at the calmneſs with which Madame bore the treatment ſhe had received. She ſoothed him by telling him, that ſhe knew too well the value of protection from a danger ſo imminent, to grow captious with her deliverers on account of a ſingle inſtance of irregularity, and only regretted that they ſhould have deprived her of her wonted pleaſure, in freely beſtowing whatever could advance the ſervice, or refreſh the exhauſted troops. They had a long and very ſerious converſation that

night. In the morning his lordſhip propoſed ſetting out very early; but when he roſe was aſtoniſhed to find Madame waiting, and breakfaſt ready: he ſmiled, and ſaid he would not diſappoint her, as it was hard to ſay when he might again breakfaſt with a lady. Impreſſed with an unaccountable degree of concern about the fate of the enterprize in which he was embarked, ſhe again repeated her counſels and her cautions; and when he was about to depart, embraced him with the affection of a mother, and ſhed many tears, a weakneſs which ſhe did not often give way to.

Mean time, the beſt prepared and diſciplined body of forces that had ever been aſſembled in America, were proceeding on an enterprize, that, to the experience and ſagacity of the Schuylers, appeared a hopeleſs, or, at leaſt, a very deſperate one. A general gloom overſpread the family; this, at all times large, was now augmented by ſeveral of the relations both of the Colonel and Madame, who had viſited them at that time, to be nearer the ſcene of action, and

get

get the readieſt and moſt authentic intelligence; for the apprehended conſequence of a defeat was, the pouring in of the French troops into the interior of the province; in which caſe Albany might be abandoned to the enraged ſavages attending the French army.

In the afternoon a man was ſeen coming on horſeback from the north, galloping violently, without his hat. Pedrom, as he was familiarly called, the colonel's only ſurviving brother, was with her, and ran inſtantly to inquire, well knowing he rode expreſs. The man galloped on, crying out that Lord Howe was killed. The mind of our good aunt had been ſo engroſſed by her anxiety and fears for the event impending, and ſo impreſſed by the merit and magnanimity of her favourite hero, that her wonted firmneſs ſunk under this ſtroke, and ſhe broke out into bitter lamentations. This had ſuch an effect on her friends and domeſtics, that ſhrieks and ſobs of anguiſh echoed through every part of the houſe. Even thoſe who were too young or too old

to enter into the public calamity, were affected by the violent grief of aunt, who, in general, had too much ſelf command to let others witneſs her ſorrows. Lord Howe was ſhot from behind a tree, probably by ſome Indian; and the whole army were inconſolable for a loſs they too well knew to be irreparable. This ſtroke, however, they ſoon found to be "portent and pain, a menace and a blow;" but this dark proſpect was cheered for a moment by a deceitful gleam of hope, which only added to the bitterneſs of diſappointment.

CHAP. IX.

Total Defeat at Ticonderoga. — General Lee. — Humanity of Madame.

THE next day they heard the particulars of the ſkirmiſh, for it could ſcarce be called a regular engagement, which had proved fatal to the young warrior, whoſe loſs was ſo deeply felt. The army had croſſed lake George, in ſafety, on the 5th of July, and landed without oppoſition. They proceeded in four columns to Ticonderoga, and diſplayed a ſpectacle unprecedented in the New World. An army of ſixteen thouſand men, regulars and provincials, with a train of artillery, and all the neceſſary proviſions for an active campaign or regular ſiege, followed by a little fleet of bateaux, pontons, &c. They ſet out wrong however, by not having Indian guides, who are alone to be depended on in ſuch a place. In a ſhort time the columns fell in upon each

other, and occaſioned much confuſion. While they marched on in this bewildered manner, the advanced guard of the French, which had retired before them, were equally bewildered, and falling in with them in this confuſion, a ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the French loſt above three hundred men, and we, though ſucceſsful, loſt as much as it was poſſible to loſe, in one; for here it was that Lord Howe fell.

The fort is in a ſituation of peculiarly natural ſtrength; it lies on a little peninſula, with lake George on one ſide, and a narrow opening, communicating with lake Champlain, on the other. It is ſurrounded by water on three ſides; and in front there is a ſwamp, very eaſily defended: and where it ceaſed the French had made a breaſt-work above eight feet high; not content with this, they had felled immenſe trees on the ſpot, and laid them heaped on each other, with their branches outward, before their works. In fine, there was no place on earth where aggreſſion was ſo difficult, and defence ſo eaſy, as in theſe woods; eſpecially

eſpecially when, as in this caſe, the party to be attacked had great leiſure to prepare their defence. On this impenetrable front they had alſo a line of cannon mounted; while the difficulty of bringing artillery through this ſwampy ground, near enough to bear upon the place, was unſpeakable. This garriſon, almoſt impregnable from ſituation, was defended by between four and five thouſand men. An engineer, ſent to reconnoitre, was of opinion that it might be attacked without waiting for the artillery. The fatal reſolution was taken without conſulting thoſe who were beſt qualified to judge. An Indian or native American were here better ſkilled in the nature of the ground, and probabilities of ſucceſs. They knew better, in ſhort, what the ſpade, hatchet, or muſket could or could not do, in ſuch ſituations, than the moſt ſkilful veteran from Europe, however replete with military ſcience. Indeed, when ſyſtem uſurps the province of plain ſound ſenſe in unknown exigencies, the reſult is ſeldom favourable; and this truth was never more

fatally demonſtrated than in the courſe of the American war, where an obſtinate adherence to regular tactics, which do not bend to time or place, occaſioned, from firſt to laſt, an incalculable waſte of blood, of treaſure, and of perſonal courage. The reſolution then was to attack the enemy without loſs of time, and even without waiting for artillery. Alas! "what have not Britons dared?"

I cannot enter into the dreadful detail of what followed; certainly never was infatuation equal to this. The forty-ſecond regiment was then in the height of deſerved reputation; in which there was not a private man that did not conſider himſelf as rather above the lower claſs of people, and peculiarly bound to ſupport the honour of the very ſingular corps to which he belonged. This brave hard-fated regiment was then commanded by a veteran of great experience and military ſkill, Colonel Gordon Graham, who had the firſt point of attack aſſigned to him; he was wounded at the firſt onſet. How many this regiment,

ment, in particular, loſt of men and officers, I cannot now exactly ſay; but theſe were very many. What I diſtinctly remember, having often heard of it ſince, is, that, of the ſurvivors, every one officer retired wounded off the field. Of the fifty-fifth regiment, to which my father had newly been attached, ten officers were killed, including all the field-officers. No human beings could ſhew more determined courage than this brave army did. Standing four hours under a conſtant diſcharge of cannon and muſketry from barricades, on which it was impoſſible for them to make the leaſt impreſſion, General Abercrombie ſaw the fruitleſs waſte of blood that was every hour increaſing, and ordered a retreat, which was very precipitate, ſo much ſo, that they croſſed the lake, and regained their camp on the other ſide, the ſame night. Two thouſand men were killed, wounded, or taken on this diſaſtrous day. On the next, thoſe moſt dangerouſly wounded were ſent forward in boats, and reached the Flats before evening; they in

a manner brought (at leaſt confirmed) the news of the defeat. Madame had her barn inſtantly fitted up into a temporary hoſpital, and a room in her houſe allotted for the ſurgeon who attended the patients; among theſe was Lee, the ſame inſolent and rapacious Lee, who had inſulted this general benefactreſs, and deprived her of one of her greateſt pleaſures, that of giving a ſhare of every thing ſhe had to advance the ſervice. She treated him with compaſſion, without adverting, by the leaſt hint, to the paſt. She tore up her ſheets and table linen for bandages; and ſhe and her nieces were conſtantly employed in attending and cheering the wounded, while all her domeſtics were buſied in preparing food and every thing neceſſary for thoſe unhappy ſufferers. Even Lee felt and acknowledged the reſiſtleſs force of ſuch generous humanity. He ſwore, in his vehement manner, that he was ſure there would be a place reſerved for Madame in heaven, though no other woman ſhould be there, and that he ſhould wiſh for nothing better

than

than to ſhare her final deſtiny. The active induſtrious beneficence ſhe exerciſed at this time, not only towards the wounded, but the wretched widows and orphans who had remained here, and had loſt their all in their huſbands and parents, was beyond praiſe. Could I clearly recollect and arrange the anecdotes of this period, as I have often heard them, they would of themſelves fill a volume; ſuffice it, that ſuch was the veneration in which ſhe was held in the army after this period, that I recollect, among the earlieſt impreſſions received in my mind, that of a profound reverence for Madame, as theſe people were wont to call her. Before I ever ſaw her I uſed to think of her as a moſt auguſt perſonage, of a majeſtic preſence; ſitting on an elevated ſeat, and ſcattering bounty to wounded ſoldiers, and poor women and children.

CHAP. X.

The Family of Madame's Sister.—The Death of the latter.

AUNT found conſolation for all her ſorrows in the family of her favourite ſiſter. The promiſe of uncommon merit, which appeared in the riſing branches of that ſingularly fine family, was to her a peculiar gratification; for no mother could love her own children more tenderly than ſhe did them. The two daughters, which were amongſt the eldeſt, paſſed, by turns, much of their time with her, and were, from their beauty and their manners, the ornaments of her ſociety; while their good ſenſe, ripened by being called early into action, made theſe amiable and elegant young women more a comfort and aſſiſtance than a care or charge to their aunt, at a very early period. They had four brothers; three of whom are ſtill living, and have, through life,

life, done honour by their virtues, their manners, and their conduct, in the moſt trying exigencies, to the memory and example of their excellent parents, as well as to that collateral ſchool of pure morality, and ſound and genuine policy, of which they ſhared the benefit.

The hiſtory of this family, in the after viciſſitudes in which the political changes in their country involved them, would furniſh a very intereſting detail, were it allowable to offend the delicacy of modeſt worth, or eligible to expoſe the depravity and fury of enraged factions. Of the brothers I ſhall only mention, that the third, in his childhood, ſhewed uncommon fire and vivacity; not ſeeming to retain the ſmalleſt portion of that hereditary phlegm which could ſtill be eaſily traced through many of the ſettlers of this peculiar colony. He could ſcarce be called an unlucky boy, for he never did harm deſignedly; yet he was ſo volatile, eccentric, and original, in the frolickſome excurſions of his fancy, that many ludicrous and ſome ſerious conſequences

reſulted

reſulted from them. He ſhewed, however, amidſt all theſe gaieties, from a very early age, a ſteady and determined predilection towards a military life, which, in due time, was indulged, and has been ſince the means of leading him on to rank and diſtinction in the Britiſh ſervice *. Of the eldeſt brother I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; the ſecond and youngeſt were zealous partizans of government at the time of the revolution. Their loyalty occaſioned the loſs of their fortunes and their homes; but their worth and bravery procured them confidence and important commands in that painful ſervice which was carried on during the American war, at the end of which they were partially rewarded by grants of land in Upper Canada. Loyalty and courage ſeems hereditary in this family. Many ſons of thoſe expatriated brothers are now ſerving their country in different

* The capture of Tobago was atchieved by General C—r, who has for near forty years been engaged in the moſt active and hazardous departments of the ſervice.

parts

parts of the empire, undeterred by the loſſes and ſufferings of their parents in the royal cauſe. It was a marked diſtinction of character to be obſerved in the conduct of aunt's protegées, that though ſhe was equally attached to the children of her huſband's relations and her own, theſe latter only adopted her political ſentiments, with a ſingle exception, which ſhall be mentioned in its place.

The defeat at Ticonderoga bore very hard upon the mind of Madame; public ſpirit was always an active principle in her ſtrong and reflecting mind; and from the particular circumſtances in which ſhe had always been involved, her patriotiſm gained ſtrength by exerciſe. The ſame ardent concern for the public good, which could produce no other effect but fruitleſs anxiety, would be as unavailing as unneceſſary, in our ſecure and tranquil ſtate; but with her it was an exerciſed and uſeful virtue. Her attachment to the Britiſh nation, which was to the very laſt a ruling principle both of her actions and opinions, contributed to embitter

embitter this blow to her and her family. The taking of Frontinac on the weſtern lakes, and the re-eſtabliſhment of our power in that important quarter, were atchieved by General Bradſtreet, whom Abercrombie diſpatched at the head of three thouſand provincials. This was a cordial much wanted by all, and more particularly gratifying to the family at the Flats, as the colonel's nephew, Philip Schuyler, though his was not exactly a warlike department, had evinced much ſpirit, prudence, and reſolution during that expedition; in which, without publicly arrogating command, he, under Bradſtreet, (who was indeed a very able man,) directed moſt of the operations. In the mind of this extraordinary perſon, qualities, ſuited to all occaſions, lay dormant and unſuſpected, till called forth by the varying events of his buſy though not buſtling life; for he ſeemed to carry on the plans, public and private, which he executed with ſuperior ability and ſucceſs, by mere volition. No one ever ſaw him appear hurried, embarraſſed, or agitated.

The ſucceſs of this expedition, and the riſing diſtinction of her nephew Philip, was ſome conſolation to Madame for the late diſaſter. Still friendly and hoſpitable, ſhe was as kindly diſpoſed towards the Britiſh as ever, and as indefatigable in promoting a good underſtanding between them and the natives; but the army was now on a larger ſcale. It was in a manner regularly organized, and more independent of ſuch aid as individuals could beſtow; and the many children educated by her, or left orphans to her care, became from their number, their marriages, and various purſuits, objects of more earneſt ſolicitude.

At this period Aunt Schuyler, now every where ſpoken of by that affectionate deſignation, met with a ſevere affliction in the death of a ſiſter, whom ſhe had always loved with more than common tenderneſs, and whoſe family ſhe conſidered in a manner as her own. This was Mrs. Cuyler, the wife of that able and upright magiſtrate Cornelius Cuyler, of whoſe family I have juſt been giving ſome account. Mrs. Cuyler,

ler, with a character more gentle and retiring, poſſeſſed the good ſenſe and benevolence for which aunt was diſtinguiſhed, though her ſphere of action being entirely within the limits of her own family, ſhe could not be ſo well known, or ſo much celebrated. The colonel had always had a great attachment to this valuable perſon; which ſtill more endeared her to his widow. She however always found new duties reſulting from her afflictions, ſo that ſhe could not afford to ſink under them. She now was at pains to conſole her ſiſter's huſband, who really ſeemed borne down by this ſtroke; and the exertions ſhe made for the good of his ſingularly promiſing family, kept her mind occupied.

CHAP. XI.

Further Succeſſes of the Britiſh Arms.—A Miſſionary.—Cortlandt Schuyler.

THE conqueſt of Oſwego, which was this year (1759) retaken from the French by General Bradſtreet, contributed to revive the drooping ſpirits of the army and the patriots; and it was quickly ſucceeded by the dear-bought conqueſt of Quebec. Though Madame had never ſeen General Wolfe, ſhe ſhared the general admiration of his heroiſm, and the general ſorrow for his loſs, in a very high degree. She, too, was conſcious that the ſecurity and tranquillity purchaſed by the conqueſt of Quebec, would, in a manner, looſen the bonds which held the coloniſts attached to a government which they only endured while they required its protection. This led to conſequences which ſhe too clearly foreſaw.

The

The mind of Mrs. Schuyler, which had been greatly agitated by the ſad events at Ticonderoga, now began, in conſequence of the late ſucceſſes, to become more compoſed, and to turn itſelf to objects of utility, as formerly. What ſhe had done, and made others do for the orphans and widows that had become ſuch in conſequence of the attack on the lines, could ſcarce be credited. No one would ſuppoſe a moderate fortune, like her's, could poſſibly be equal to it. She had at this time too much ſatisfaction in ſeeing the reſpective churches, (in all which ſhe was deeply intereſted,) filled with perſons who did honour to their profeſſion. A young clergyman named Weſterloe, ſucceeded Domine Freylinghauſen, after an interval of three or four years, during which the charge was irregularly filled. This young man had learning, talent, and urbanity; he had all the ſanctity of life and animated eloquence of his predeceſſor, without his love of power, his buſtling turn, or his eagerneſs for popularity; he was, indeed, a perſon of very ſingular merit, but

but ſtudious and ſecluded, and unwilling to mix with ſtrangers. To Madame, however, he was open and companionable, and knew and valued the attractions of her converſation. Dr. Ogilvie was the Engliſh epiſcopal miniſter, who, under the name of Indian miſſionary, and with a ſalary allowed him as ſuch, had the charge of performing duty in a church erected for that purpoſe in town, to ſtrangers, and ſuch of the military as choſe to attend. The Chriſtian Indians, who were her particular charge, lived at too great a diſtance to benefit by his labours. The province, however, allowed a ſalary to a zealous preacher, who laboured among them with apoſtolic fervour, and with the ſame diſregard to the things of this world. Dr. Ogilvie was highly reſpected, and indeed much beloved by all who were capable of appreciating his merit. His appearance was ſingularly prepoſſeſſing; his addreſs and manners entirely thoſe of a gentleman. His abilities were reſpectable, his doctrine was pure and ſcriptural, and his life exemplary, both as a clergyman and in his domeſtic

domeſtic circle, where he was peculiarly amiable; add to all this a talent for converſation, extenſive reading, and a thorough knowledge of life. The Doctor was indeed a man after Madame's own heart; and ſhe never ceaſed regretting his departure to New York, where he was ſettled two years after. For Stuart* ſhe had the utmoſt veneration. Perfectly calculated for his auſtere and uncourtly duties, he was wholly devoted to them, and ſcarce caſt a look back to that world which he had forſaken. Yet he was, on various accounts, highly valued by Madame; for ſince the appointment of the ſuperintendant, and more particularly ſince the death of the colonel, he became more important to her, as the link which held her to the Mohawks, whom ſhe now ſaw ſo much more ſeldom, but always continued to love. The comprehenſion of her mind was ſo great, and her deſire for knowledge ſo ſtrong, that ſhe found much entertainment in tracing

* A pious miſſionary in the Mohawk country.

the unfoldings of the human mind in its native ſtate, and the gradual progreſs of intellect when enlightened by the gentle influence of pure religion; and this good *Father of the deſarts* gratified her more by the details he was enabled to give of the progreſs of devotion and of mind among his beloved little flock, than he could have done by all that learning or knowledge of the world can beſtow. Again the Flats began to be the reſort of the beſt ſociety. She had alſo her nephews in ſucceſſion; one, a brother of that Philip ſo often mentioned, ſince better known to the world by the appellation of General Schuyler, had been long about the family. He was a youth diſtinguiſhed for the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and the ſymmetry of his features. He was a perfect model of manly beauty, though almoſt as dark as an Indian. Indeed, both in looks and character, he greatly reſembled the aborigines of the country. He ſeemed perfectly unconſcious of the extraordinary perſonal advantages which he poſſeſſed; was brave, honourable,

and

and poſſeſſed a very good underſtanding, but collected within himſelf; ſilent, yet eloquent when he choſe to intereſt himſelf, or was warmed by the occaſion; and had ſuch ſtainleſs probity, that every one reſpected and truſted him. Yet he was ſo very indifferent to the ordinary pleaſures and purſuits of life, and ſo entirely devoted to the ſports of the field, that when his aunt afterwards procured him a commiſſion in a marching regiment, hoping thus to tame and brighten him, he was known in Ireland by the name of the handſome ſavage. This title did not belong to him in the ſenſe we moſt often uſe it in; for his manners were not rude and harſh in the leaſt, though an air of cold auſterity, which ſhaded his fine countenance, with his delight in ſolitary amuſements, led the gay and ſocial inhabitants of the country in which he reſided, to conſider him as unwillingly reſcued from his native foreſts. This youth was named Cortlandt, and will be more particularly mentioned hereafter. That eccentric and frolicſome boy, whoſe humourous ſallies

and

and playful flights were a continual ſource of amuſement, was alſo a frequent gueſt, but did not ſtay ſo long as his elder brother, who certainly was, of all aunt's adopted, the greateſt favourite, and became more endeared to her, from being leſs ſucceſsful in life than the reſt of his family.

In a council held between their relations and Madame, it was decided that both Cortlandt and Cornelius ſhould try their fortune in arms. Cortlandt was made an enſign in an old regiment, and went over to Ireland. Cornelius, a year after, got a commiſſion in the 55th, then commanded by that ſingularly worthy and benevolent character Sir Adolphus Oughton. The mayor was highly reſpected for his wiſdom; yet his purchaſing a commiſſion for ſo mere a boy, and laying out for it a ſum of money which appeared large in a country where people contrived to do very well with wonderfully little of that article, aſtoniſhed all his countrymen. Conſcious, however, of his ſon's military genius, and well knowing that the vivacity that filled his

grave kinſmen with apprehenſion, was merely a lambent flame of youthful gaiety, which would blaze without ſcorching, he fearleſsly launched him into a profeſſion in which he hoped to ſee him attain merited diſtinction. While the excellent patroneſs of all theſe young people had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing every one brought up under her auſpices, (and, by this time, they were not a few,) do honour to her inſtructions, and fill up their different ſtations in a manner the moſt creditable and proſperous; and ſhe was often ſurrounded by the children of thoſe who had engaged her earlieſt cares.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Burning of the Houſe at the Flats.—Madame's removal.—Journey of the Author.

IT was at this time, when ſhe was in the very achme of her reputation, and her name never mentioned without ſome added epithet of reſpect or affection, that her houſe, ſo long the receptacle of all that was good or intelligent, and the aſylum of all that was helpleſs and unfortunate, was entirely conſumed before her eyes.

In the ſummer of this year, as General Bradſtreet was riding by the Flats one day, and propoſing to call on Madame, he ſaw her ſitting in a great chair under the little avenue of cherry trees that led from her houſe to the road. All the way as he approached he ſaw ſmoke, and at laſt flames, burſting out from the top of her houſe. He was afraid to alarm her ſuddenly; but

when he told her, ſhe heard it with the utmoſt compoſure; pointed out the likelieſt means to check the fire; and ordered the neighbours to be ſummoned, and the moſt valuable goods firſt removed, without ever attempting to go over the houſe herſelf, when ſhe knew ſhe could be of no ſervice; but with the moſt admirable preſence of mind, ſhe ſat ſtill with a placid countenance, regulating and ordering every thing in the moſt judicious manner, and with as much compoſure as if ſhe had nothing to loſe. When evening came, of that once happy manſion not a ſingle beam was left, and the ſcorched brick walls were all that remained to mark where it had ſtood.

Madame could not be ſaid to be left without a dwelling, having a houſe in Albany rather larger than the one thus deſtroyed. But ſhe was fondly attached to the ſpot which had been the ſcene of ſo much felicity, and rendered more dear to her by retaining within its bounds the remains of her beloved partner. She removed to Pedrom's houſe for the night. The news of what

what had happened ſpread every where; and ſhe had the comfort of knowing, in conſequence of this misfortune, better than ſhe could by any other means, how great a degree of public eſteem and private gratitude ſhe had excited. The next day people came from all quarters to condole, and aſk her directions where and how ſhe would chuſe to have another houſe built. And in a few days the ground was covered with bricks, timber, and other materials, brought there by her friends in voluntary kindneſs. It is to be obſerved that the people in the interior of New York were ſo exceedingly ſkillful in the uſe not only of the axe, but all ordinary tools uſed in planing and joining timber, that with the aid of a regular carpenter or two to carry on the nicer parts of the work, a man could build an ordinary houſe, if it were a wooden one, with very little more than his own domeſtics. It can ſcarce be credited that this houſe, begun in Auguſt, was ready for Aunt's reception againſt winter, which here begins very early. But General Bradſtreet

had ſent ſome of the King's workmen, conſidering them as employed for the public ſervice, while carrying on this building. The moſt unpleaſant circumſtance about this new dwelling, was the melancholy hiatus which appeared in front, where the former large houſe had ſtood, and where the deep and ſpacious cellars ſtill yawned in gloomy deſolation. Madame, who no longer ſtudied appearance, but merely thought of a temporary accommodation, for a life which neither ſhe nor any one expected to be a long one, ordered a broad wooden bridge, like thoſe we ſee over rivers. This bridge was furniſhed with ſeats like a portico, and this with the high walls of the burnt houſe, which were a kind of ſcreen before the new one, gave the whole the appearance of ſome antient ruin.

Madame did not find the winter paſs comfortably. That road, now that matters were regularly ſettled, was no longer the conſtant reſort of her military friends. Her favourite nieces were too engaging, and too much admired, to leave room to expect

pect they ſhould remain with her. She found her houſe comparatively cold and inconvenient, and the winter long and comfortleſs. She could not now eaſily go the diſtance to church. Pedrom, that affectionate and reſpected brother, was now, by increaſing deafneſs, diſqualified from being a companion; and ſiſter Suſan, infirm and cheerleſs, was now, for the moſt part, confined to her chamber. Under theſe circumſtances ſhe was at length prevailed on to remove to Albany. The Flats ſhe gave in leaſe to Pedrom's ſon Stephen. The houſe and ſurrounding grounds were let to an Iriſh gentleman, who came over to America to begin a new courſe of life, after ſpending his fortune in faſhionable diſſipation. On coming to America, he found that there was an intermediate ſtate of hardſhip and ſelf-denial to be encountered, before he could enter on that fancied Arcadia which he thought was to be found in every wood. He ſettled his family in this temporary dwelling, while he went to traverſe the provinces in ſearch of ſome unforfeited Eden, where the roſe had no thorn, and

the courſe of ceaſeleſs labour had not begun to operate. Madame found reaſon to be highly ſatisfied with the change. She had mills which ſupplied her with bread, her ſlaves cut and brought home fire-wood, ſhe had a good garden, and fruit and every other rural dainty came to her in the greateſt abundance. All her former protegées and friends in different quarters delighted to ſend their tribute; and this was merely an interchange of kindneſs.

Soon after this removal, her eldeſt niece, a remarkably fine young woman, was married to Mr. C. of C. manor, which was accounted one of the beſt matches, or rather the very beſt in the province. She was diſtinguiſhed by a figure of uncommon grace and dignity, a noble and expreſſive countenance, and a mind ſuch as her appearance led one to expect. This very reſpectable perſon is, I believe, ſtill living, after witneſſing, among her deareſt connexions, ſcenes the moſt diſtreſſing, and changes the moſt painful. She has ever conducted herſelf, ſo as to do honour to the excellent examples of her mother and aunt,

and

and to be a pattern of ſtedfaſt truth and generous friendſhip, in exigencies the moſt trying. Her younger ſiſter, equally admired, though poſſeſſing a different ſtyle of beauty, more ſoft and debonair, with the faireſt complexion, and moſt cheerful ſimplicity of aſpect, was the peculiar favourite of her aunt, above all that ever ſhe took charge of; ſhe, too, was ſoon after married to that highly eſteemed patriot the late Iſaac L., revered, through the whole continent, for his ſound good ſenſe and genuine public ſpirit. He was, indeed, "happily tempered, mild, and firm;" and was finally the victim of ſtedfaſt loyalty.

It now remains to ſay how the writer of theſe pages became ſo well acquainted with the ſubject of theſe memoirs.

My father was at this time a ſubaltern in the 55th regiment. That body of men were then ſtationed at Oſwego; but during the buſy and warlike period I have been deſcribing, my mother and I were boarded, in the country below Albany, with the moſt worthy people imaginable; with whom we ever

after kept up a cordial friendſhip. My father, wiſhing to ſee his family, was indulged with permiſſion, and at the ſame time ordered to take the command of an additional company, who were to come up, and to purchaſe for the regiment all the ſtores they ſhould require for the winter; which proved a moſt extenſive commiſſion. In the month of October he ſet out on this journey, or voyage rather, in which it was ſettled that my mother and I ſhould accompany him. We were, I believe, the firſt females, above the very loweſt ranks, who had ever penetrated ſo far into this remote wilderneſs. Certainly never was joy greater than that which lulled my childiſh mind on ſetting out on this journey. I had before ſeen little of my father, and the moſt I knew of him was from the ſolicitude I had heard expreſſed on his account, and the fear of his death after every battle. I was, indeed, a little aſhamed of having a military father, brought up as I had moſtly been, in a Dutch family, and ſpeaking that language as fluently as my own; yet, on the other hand, I had

felt

felt ſo awkward at ſeeing all my companions have fathers to talk and complain to, while I had none; that I thought upon the whole it was a very good thing to have a father of any kind. The ſcarlet coat, which I had been taught to conſider as the ſymbol of wickedneſs, diſguſted me in ſome degree; but then, to my great comfort, I found my father did not ſwear; and again, to my unſpeakable delight, that he prayed. A ſoldier pray! was it poſſible? and ſhould I really ſee my father in heaven! How tranſporting! By a ſudden revolution of opinion I now thought my father the moſt charming of all beings; and the overflowings of my good will reached to the whole company, becauſe they wore the ſame colour, and ſeemed to reſpect and obey him. I dearly loved idleneſs too, and the more, becauſe my mother, who delighted in needle-work, confined me too much to it. What joys were mine! to be idle for a fortnight, ſeeing new woods, rivers, and animals, every day; even then the love of nature was, in my young boſom, a paſſion

productive of inceſſant delight. I had, too, a primmer, two hymns, and a ballad; and theſe I read over and over with great diligence. At intervals my attention was agreeably engaged by the details the ſoldiers gave my father of their manner of living and fighting in the woods, &c.; and with theſe the praiſes of Madame were often mingled. I thought of her continually; every great thing I heard about her, even her ſize, had its impreſſion. She became the heroine of my childiſh imagination; and I thought of her as ſomething both awful and admirable. We had the ſurgeon of the regiment, and another officer with us; they talked too of Madame, of Indians, of battles, and of antient hiſtory. Sitting from morning to night muſing in the boat, contemplating my father, who appeared to me a hero and a ſaint, and thinking of Aunt Schuyler, who filled up my whole mind with the grandeur with which my fancy had inveſted her; and then having my imagination continually amuſed with the variety of noble wild ſcenes which

the

the beautiful banks of the Mohawk afforded, I am convinced I thought more in that fortnight, that is to ſay, acquired more ideas, and took more laſting impreſſions, than ever I did, in the ſame ſpace of time, in my life. This, however foreign it may appear to my ſubject, I mention, as ſo far connecting with it, that it accounts, in ſome meaſure, for that developement of thought which led me to take ſuch ready and ſtrong impreſſions from Aunt's converſation when afterwards I knew her.

CHAP. XIII.

Continuation of the Journey.—Arrival at Oſwego.—Regulations, Studies, and Amuſements there.

NEVER, certainly, was a journey ſo replete with felicity. I luxuriated in idleneſs and novelty; knowledge was my delight, and it was now pouring in on my mind from all ſides. What a change from ſitting pinned down to my ſamplar by my mother till the hour of play, and then running wild with children as young, and ſtill ſimpler than myſelf. Much attended to by all my fellow travellers, I was abſolutely intoxicated with the charms of novelty, and the ſenſe of my new found importance. The firſt day we came to Schenactady, a little town, ſituated in a rich and beautiful ſpot, and partly ſupported by the Indian trade. The next day we embarked, proceeded up the river with ſix batteaux, and came early in the evening to one of the moſt charming ſcenes imaginable, where

Fort

Fort Hendrick was built; ſo called, in compliment to the principal Sachem, or King of the Mohawks. The caſtle of this primitive monarch ſtood at a little diſtance, on a riſing ground, ſurrounded by palliſades. He reſided, at the time, in a houſe which the public workmen, who had lately built this fort, had been ordered to erect for him in the vicinity. We did not fail to wait upon His Majeſty; who, not chuſing to depart too much from the cuſtoms of his anceſtors, had not permitted diviſions of apartments, or modern furniture to profane his new dwelling. It had the appearance of a good barn, and was divided acroſs by a mat hung in the middle. King Hendrick, who had indeed a very princely figure, and a countenance that would not have diſhonoured royalty, was ſitting on the floor beſide a large heap of wheat, ſurrounded with baſkets of dried berries of different kinds; beſide him, his ſon, a very pretty boy, ſomewhat older than myſelf, was careſſing a foal, which was unceremonioufly introduced into the royal reſidence. A laced

hat,

hat, a fine ſaddle and piſtols, gifts of his good brother the great king, were hung round on the croſs beams. He was ſplendidly arrayed in a coat of pale blue, trimmed with ſilver; all the reſt of his dreſs was of the faſhion of his own nation, and highly embelliſhed with beads and other ornaments. All this ſuited my taſte exceedingly, and was level to my comprehenſion. I was prepared to admire King Hendrick by hearing him deſcribed as a generous warrior, terrible to his enemies, and kind to his friends: the character of all others calculated to make the deepeſt impreſſion on ignorant innocence, in a country where infants learned the horrors of war from its vicinity. Add to all this, that the monarch ſmiled, clapped my head, and ordered me a little baſket, very pretty, and filled by the officious kindneſs of his ſon with dried berries. Never did princely gifts, or the ſmile of royalty, produce more ardent admiration and profound gratitude. I went out of the royal preſence overawed and delighted, and am not ſure

but

but what I have liked kings all my life the better for this happy ſpecimen, to which I was ſo early introduced. Had I ſeen royalty, properly ſuch, inveſted with all the pomp of European magnificence, I ſhould poſſibly have been confuſed and over-dazzled. But this was quite enough, and not too much for me; and I went away, loſt in a reverie, and thought of nothing but kings, battles, and generals for days after.

This journey, charming my romantic imagination by its very delays and difficulties, was ſuch a ſource of intereſt and novelty to me, that above all things I dreaded its concluſion, which I well knew would be ſucceeded by long taſks and cloſe confinement. Happily for me we ſoon entered upon Wood-creek, the moſt deſirable of all places for a traveller who loves to linger, if ſuch another traveller there be. This is a ſmall river, which winds irregularly through a deep and narrow valley of the moſt laviſh fertility. The depth and richneſs of the ſoil here

was

was evinced by the loftineſs and the nature of the trees, which were, hiccory, butter-nut, cheſnut, and ſycamores of vaſt circumference as well as height. Theſe became ſo top heavy, and their roots were ſo often undermined by this inſidious ſtream, that in every tempeſtuous night, ſome giants of the grove fell proſtrate, and very frequently acroſs the ſtream, where they lay in all their pomp of foliage, like a leafy bridge, unwithered, and formed an obſtacle almoſt invincible to all navigation. The Indian lifted his ſlight canoe, and carried it paſt the tree; but our deep loaded batteaux could not be ſo managed. Here my orthodoxy was ſhocked, and my anti-military prejudices revived by the ſwearing of the ſoldiers: but then again my veneration for my father was if poſſible increaſed, by his lectures againſt ſwearing provoked by their tranſgreſſion. Nothing remained for our heroes but to attack theſe ſylvan giants axe in hand, and make way through their divided bodies. The aſſault upon fallen greatneſs was unanimous

nimous and unmerciful, but the reſiſtance was tough, and the proceſs tedious; ſo much ſo, that we were three days proceeding fourteen miles, having at every two hours' end at leaſt, a new tree to cut through.

It was here, as far as I recollect the hiſtory of my own heart, that the firſt idea of artifice ever entered to my mind. It was, like moſt female artifices, the offspring of vanity. Theſe delays were a new ſource of pleaſure to me. It was October: the trees we had to cut through were often loaded with nuts, and while I ran lightly along the branches, to fill my royal baſket with their ſpoils, which I had great pleaſure in diſtributing, I met with multitudes of fellow plunderers in the ſquirrels of various colours and ſizes, who were here numberleſs. This made my excurſions amuſing: but when I found my diſappearance excited alarm, they aſſumed more intereſt. It was ſo fine to ſit quietly among the branches, and hear concern and ſolicitude expreſſed about the child.

I will

I will ſpare the reader the fatigue of accompanying our little fleet through

" Antres vaſt and deſarts wild :"

only obſerving, that the munificent ſolitude through which we travelled was much relieved by the ſight of Johnſon hall, beautifully ſituated in a plain by the river; while Johnſon caſtle, a few miles further up, made a moſt reſpectable appearance on a commanding eminence at ſome diſtance.

We travelled from one fort to another; but in three or four inſtances, to my great joy, they were ſo remote from each other, that we found it neceſſary to encamp at night on the bank of the river. This, in a land of profound ſolitude, where wolves, foxes, and bears abounded, and were very much inclined to conſider and treat us as intruders, might ſeem diſmal to wiſer folks. But I was ſo gratified by the buſtle and agitation produced by our meaſures of defence, and actuated by the love which all children have for miſchief that is not fatal,

that

that I enjoyed our night's encampment exceedingly. We ſtopped early wherever we ſaw the largeſt and moſt combuſtible kind of trees. Cedars were great favorites, and the firſt work was to fell and pile upon each other an incredible number, ſtretched lengthways, while every one who could was buſied in gathering withered branches of pine, &c. to fill up the interſtices of the pile, and make the green wood burn the faſter. Then a train of gun-powder was laid along to give fire to the whole fabric at once, which blazed and crackled magnificently. Then the tents were erected cloſe in a row before this grand conflagration. This was not merely meant to keep us warm, though the nights did begin to grow cold, but to frighten wild beaſts and wandering Indians. In caſe any ſuch Indians, belonging to hoſtile tribes, ſhould ſee this prodigious blaze, the ſize of it was meant to give them an idea of a greater force than we poſſeſſed.

In one place, where we were ſurrounded by hills, with ſwamps lying between them,

them, there ſeemed to be a general congreſs of wolves, who anſwered each other from oppoſite hills, in ſounds the moſt terrific. Probably the terror which all ſavage animals have at fire was exalted into fury, by ſeeing ſo many enemies, whom they durſt not attack. The bull frogs, the harmleſs, the hideous inhabitants of the ſwamps, ſeemed determined not to be out-done, and roared a tremendous bass to this bravura accompaniment. This was almoſt too much for my love of the terrible ſublime: ſome women, who were our fellow-travellers, ſhrieked with terror: and finally, the horrors of that night were ever after held in aweful remembrance by all who ſhared them.

The laſt night of this eventful pilgrimage, of which I fear to tire my readers by a farther recital, was ſpent at fort Bruerton, then commanded by captain Mungo Campbell *, whoſe warm and generous

* Colonel Mungo Campbell was killed leading on the attack of fort St. Anne, at the battle of White Plains, Anno 1777.

heart,

heart, whoſe enlightened and comprehenſive mind, whoſe ſocial qualities and public virtues I ſhould delight to commemorate did my limits permit; ſuffice it, that he is endeared to my recollection by being the firſt perſon who ever ſuppoſed me to have a mind capable of culture, and I was ever after diſtinguiſhed by his partial notice. Here we were detained two days by a premature fall of ſnow. Very much diſpoſed to be happy any where, I was here particularly ſo. Our laſt day's journey, which brought us to lake Ontario and fort Oſwego, our deſtined abode, was a very hard one; we had people going before, breaking the ice with paddles, all the way.

All that I had foreboded of long taſks, confinement, &c., fell ſhort of the reality. The very deep ſnow confined us all; and at any rate the rampart or the parade would have been no favourable ſcene of improvement for me. One great ſource of entertainment I diſcovered here, was no other than the Old Teſtament, which during my confinement I learned to read;

till then having done so very imperfectly. It was an unspeakable treasure as a story-book, before I learnt to make any better use of it, and became, by frequent perusal, indelibly imprinted on my memory. Wallace wight, and Welwood's memoirs of the history of England, were my next acquisitions. Enough of egotism, yet all these circumstances contributed to form that taste for solid reading which first attracted the attention of my invaluable friend.

I cannot quit Ontario without giving a slight sketch of the manner in which it was occupied and governed while I was there and afterwards, were it but to give young soldiers a hint how they may best use their time and resources, so as to shun the indolence and ennui they are often liable to in such situations. The 55th had by this time acquired several English officers; but, with regard to the men, it might be considered as a Scotch regiment, and was indeed originally such, being raised but a very few years before, in the neighbourhood

of Stirling. There were ſmall detachments in other forts; but the greateſt part were in this, commanded by Major (afterwards Colonel) Duncan of Lundie, elder brother of the Late lord Duncan of Camperdown. He was an experienced officer, poſſeſſed of conſiderable military ſcience, learned, humane, and judicious, yet obſtinate, and ſomewhat of an humouriſt withal. Whereever he went, a reſpectable library went with him. Though not old he was gouty, and war-worn, and therefore allowably carried about many comforts and conveniences that others could not warrantably do. The fort was a large place, built entirely of earth and great logs; I mean the walls and ramparts, for the barracks were of wood, and cold and comfortleſs. The cutting down the vaſt quantity of wood uſed in this building had, however, cleared much of the fertile ground by which the fort was ſurrounded. The lake abounded with excellent fiſh and varieties of waterfowl, while deer and every kind of game were numerous in the ſurrounding woods.

All theſe advantages, however, were now ſhut up by the rigours of winter. The officers were all very young men, brought from ſchool or college to the army, and after the dreadful ſpecimen of war which they had met with on their firſt outſet, at the lines of Ticonderoga, they had gone through all poſſible hardſhips. After a march up St. Lawrence, and then through Canada here, a march indeed, conſidering the ſeaſon, and the new road, worthy the hero of Pultowa, they were ſtationed in this new built garriſon, far from every trace of civilization. Theſe young ſoldiers were, however, excellent ſubjects for the forming hand of Major Duncan. As I have ſaid on a former occaſion of others, if they were not improved, they were not ſpoiled, and what little they knew was good.

The major, by the manner in which he treated them, ſeemed to conſider them as his ſons or pupils; only one might call him an auſtere parent, or a rigid inſtructor. But this ſemblance of ſeverity was neceſſary

to

to form his pupils to habitual veneration. Partaking every day of their convivial enjoyments, and ſhewing every hour ſome proof of paternal care and kindneſs; all this was neceſſary to keep them within due limits. Out of regard to their own welfare he wanted no more of their love than was conſiſtent with ſalutary fear; and yet made himſelf ſo neceſſary to them, that nothing could be ſo terrible to them as, by any neglect or imprudence, to alienate him. He meſſed with them, but lived in a houſe of his own. This was a very ſingular building divided into two apartments; one of which was a bed-room, in which many ſtores found place, the other, a breakfaſting-parlour, and, at the ſame time, a library. Here were globes, quadrants, mathematical inſtruments, flutes, dumb-bells, and cheſs-boards; here, in ſhort, was a magazine of inſtruction and amuſement for the colonel's pupils, that is, for all the garriſon. (Cornelius Cuyler, who had now joined the regiment, as youngeſt enſign, was included in this number.) This Scythian dwelling, for

ſuch it ſeemed, was made entirely of wood, and fixed upon wheels of the ſame material, ſo that it could be removed from one part of the parade to another, as it frequently was. So ſlight a tenement, where the winters were intenſely cold, was ill calculated for a gouty patient: for this, however, he found a remedy; the boards, which formed the walls of his apartment, being covered with deer-ſkins, and a moſt ample bear-ſkin ſpread on the floor by way of carpet. When once the winter ſet fully in, Oſwego became a perfect Siberia; cut off even from all intelligence of what was paſſing in the world. But the major did not allow this interval to waſte in ſloth or vacancy; he ſeemed rather to take advantage of the excluſion of all exterior objects. His library was ſelect and ſoldier-like. It conſiſted of numerous treatiſes on the military art, ancient and modern hiſtory, biography, &c. beſides the beſt authors in various ſciences, of which I only recollect geography and the mathematics. All the young men were ſet to read ſuch books as ſuited

ſuited their different inclinations and capacities. The ſubalterns breakfaſted with their commander in rotation every day, three or four at a time; after breakfaſt he kept them, perhaps two hours, examining them on the ſubject of their different ſtudies. Once a week he had a ſupper party for ſuch of the captains as were then in the fort; and once a week they entertained him in the ſame manner. To theſe parties ſuch of the ſubalterns, as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by diligence and proficiency, were invited. Whoever was negligent, he made the ſubject of ſarcaſms ſo pointed at one time, and at another ſo ludicrous, that there was no enduring it. The dread of ſevere puniſhment could not operate more forcibly. Yet he was ſo juſt, ſo impartial, ſo free from fickleneſs and favouritiſm, and ſo attentive to their health, their amuſements, and their œconomy, that every individual felt him neceſſary to his comfort, and looked up to him as his "guide, philoſopher, and friend."

CHAP. XIV.

Benefit of ſelect Reading.—Hunting Excurſion.

UNSPEAKABLE benefit and improvement was derived from the courſe of reading I have deſcribed, which, in the abſence of other ſubjects, furniſhed daily topics of diſcuſſion, thus impreſſing it more forcibly on the mind.

The advantages of this courſe of ſocial ſtudy, directed by a mentor ſo reſpected, were ſuch, that I have often heard it aſſerted that theſe unformed youths derived more ſolid improvement from it than from all their former education. Reading is one thing; but they learned to think and to converſe. The reſult of theſe acquirements ſerved to impreſs on my mind what I formerly obſerved with regard to Madame, that a promiſcuous multitude of books always within reach retards the acquiſition

of

of useful knowledge. It is like having a great number of acquaintances and few friends; one of the consequences of the latter is to know much of exterior appearances, of modes and manners, but little of nature and genuine character. By running over numbers of books without selection, in a desultory manner, people, in the same way, get a general superficial idea of the varieties and nature of different styles, but do not comprehend or retain the matter with the same accuracy as those who have read a few books, by the best authors, over and over with diligent attention. I speak now of those one usually meets with; not of those commanding minds, whose intuitive research seizes on every thing worth retaining, and rejects the rest as naturally as one throws away the rind when possessed of the kernel.

Our young students got through the winter pretty well; and it is particularly to be observed, that there was no such thing as a quarrel heard of among them. Their time was spent in a regular succession of

uſeful purſuits, which prevented them from riſking the dangers that often occur in ſuch places; for, in general, idleneſs and confinement to the ſame circle of ſociety produce ſuch a fermentation in the mind, and ſuch neglect of ceremonial obſervances, which are the barriers of civility, that quarrels and duels more readily occur in ſuch ſituations than in any other. But when ſpring drew near, this paternal commander found it extremely difficult to rein in the impatience of the youths to plunge into the woods to hunt. There were ſuch riſks to encounter, of unknown moraſſes, wolves, and hoſtile Indians, that it was dangerous to indulge them. At laſt, when the days began to lengthen, in the end of February, a choſen party, on whoſe hardihood and endurance the major could depend, were permitted to go on a regular hunting excurſion in the Indian faſhion. This was become deſirable on different accounts, the garriſon having been for ſome time before entirely ſubſiſted on ſalt proviſion. Sheep and cows were out of the queſtion,

queſtion, there not being one of either within forty miles. A Captain Hamilton, who was a practiſed wood ranger, commanded this party, who were clad almoſt like Indians, and armed in the ſame manner. They were accompanied by a detachment of ten men; ſome of whom having been priſoners with the Indians, were more particularly qualified to engage in this adventure. They were allowed four or five days to ſtay, and provided with a competent ſupply of bear-ſkins, blankets, &c. to make their projected wigwams comfortable. The allotted time expired, and we all begun to quarrel with our ſalt proviſions, and to long for the promiſed veniſon. Another, and yet another day paſſed, when our longing was entirely abſorbed in the apprehenſions we began to entertain. Volunteers now preſented themſelves to go in ſearch of the loſt hunters; but thoſe offers were, for good reaſons, rejected, and every countenance began to lengthen with fears we were unwilling to expreſs to each other. The major, conjecturing the hunters might

have been bewildered in thoſe endleſs woods, ordered the cannon to be fired at noon, and again at midnight, for their direction. On the eighth day, when ſuſpence was wound up to the higheſt pitch, the party were ſeen approaching, and they entered in triumph, loaded with ſylvan ſpoils; among which were many ſtrange birds and beaſts. I recollect, as the chief objects of my admiration, a prodigious ſwan, a wild turkey, and a young porcupine. Veniſon abounded, and the ſupply was both plentiful and ſeaſonable.

"Spring returned with its ſhowers," and converted our Siberia, frozen and forlorn, and ſhut out from human intercourſe, into an uncultured Eden, rich in all the majeſtic charms of ſublime ſcenery, and primæval beauty and fertility. It is in her central retreat, amidſt the mighty waters of the weſt, that nature ſeems in ſolitary grandeur to have choſen her moſt favoured habitation, remote from the ocean, whoſe waves bear the reſtleſs ſons of Europe on their voyages of diſcovery, invaſion, and intruſion,

ſion. The coaſts of America are indeed comparatively poor, except merely on the banks of great rivers, though the univerſal veil of evergreens conceals much ſterility from ſtrangers. But it is in the depth of thoſe foreſts, and around thoſe ſea-like lakes, that Nature has been profuſely kind, and diſcovers more charms the more her ſhady veil is withdrawn from her noble features. If ever the fond illuſions of poets and philoſophers—that Atalantis, that new Arcadia, that ſafe and ſerene Utopia, where ideal quiet and happineſs have ſo often charmed in theory; if ever this dream of ſocial bliſs, in ſome new planted region, is to be realized, this unrivalled ſcene of grandeur and fertility bids faireſt to be the place of its abode. Here the climate is ſerene and equal; the rigorous winters that brace the frame, and call forth the powers of mind and body to prepare for its approach, are ſucceeded by a ſpring ſo rapid, the exuberance of vernal bloom burſts forth ſo ſuddenly, after the diſappearance of thoſe deep ſnows, which cheriſh and fructify the

earth, that the change ſeems like a magical deluſion.—

The major ſaw every one enraptured, like people ſuddenly let out of priſon; and the whole garriſon ſeemed ripe for running wild through the woods, in purſuit of innumerable birds of paſſage, which had come on the wings of the genial ſouth to reſume their wonted abodes by the great lakes, where they hatch among ſwamps and iſlands without number.

CHAP. XV.

Gardening and Agriculture.—Return of the Author to Albany.

THE major rejoiced in their joy without having the leaſt intention of indulging them either in the gay idleneſs, or the wild ſports which the ſeaſon inſpired. He had been their Mentor all winter, and was now about to commence their Agricola.

When giving an account of the garriſon I ſhould have mentioned a company or two, I do not remember which, of engineers, the officers of which, from their ſuperior intelligence, were a great acquiſition to the ſociety. To theſe friendly coadjutors the major communicated his plans, which they readily adopted. Among his concealed ſtores were Indian corn, peaſe and beans in abundance, and all kinds of garden ſeeds. Before the ſeaſon opened he had arranged with theſe engineers the plan of a large garden, bowl-

ing-green, and incloſed field, for the uſe of theſe and all ſucceeding troops. This was a bold attempt when one conſiders that you might as well look for a horſe in Venice as in Oſwego. No ſuch animal had ever penetrated ſo far. A ſingle cow, belonging to the ſuttler, was the only tame creature, dogs and cats excepted, to be ſeen here. But there was a great ſtock of palliſadoes, which had been cut for the garriſon, lying ready; and their pioneers and workmen ſtill remaining there, the new erection being ſcarce complete. The new project was received with "curſes not loud but deep." Were they to go all out to plod and drudge for others, who would neither pay nor thank them; for, at moſt, they argued they ſhould ſtay only a year, and reap very little indeed of the fruit of their labours.

The major's plans, however, were deep laid; matters wore a peaceable aſpect; and there was no knowing how long they might remain there. Except ſhooting in the woods, or fiſhing, they were without buſineſs, pleaſures, or varied ſociety. He feared the men would

would degenerate into ſavage wildneſs, and their officers into that ſordid indifference, which is, too often, the conſequence of being, at the early ſeaſon of life, without an aim or a purſuit. He wiſhed to promote a common intereſt, and habits ſocial and domeſtic. He wiſhed, too, that they might make ſome advantage of this temporary baniſhment, to lay by a little ſtore to eke out their pittance when they returned to more expenſive places; in ſhort, he wiſhed to give them habits of regular œconomy, which ſhould be uſeful to them ever after. He ſhewed them his plans; gave each of them a department in overſeeing the execution of them; and, for that purpoſe, each had ſo many men allotted to his command. He made it obvious to them, that, as the ſummer was merely to be occupied in gardening and the chace, the parade of military dreſs was both expenſive and unneceſſary. In the ſtore was a great ſurplus of ſoldiers coats. Theſe had been ſent from Europe to ſupply the regiment, which had been greatly diminiſhed in number by the fatal

lines,

lines, and ſucceeding hard march. The major ordered the regimental taylor to fit theſe as a kind of ſhort undreſs frock to the officers, to whom correſpondent little round hats, very different from their regimental ones, were allotted. Thus equipped, and animated by the ſpirit of him who ruled their minds with unconſcious yet unlimited ſway, theſe young Cincinnati ſet out, nothing loth, on their horticultural enterprize. All difficulties ſoon vaniſhed before them; and, in a very few days, they became enthuſiaſtic in the purſuit of this new object. That large and fertile portion of ground, which had been cleared of the timber with which the garriſon was built, was given in charge to a ſagacious old ſerjeant, who knew ſomething of huſbandry, and who very ſoon had it incloſed in a paliſade, dug up, and planted with beans, peaſe, and Indian corn, the food of future pigs and poultry. To the officers more intereſting taſks were allotted. There was more than one gardener found in the regiment; and here the engineers and pioneers were

were particularly uſeful. The major, who had predeſtined a favourite ſpot for his ample garden, had it partially cleared, by cutting the winter firing of the garriſon from it. Where a mulberry, a wild plumb, or cherry tree was peculiarly well ſhaped or large, he marked it to remain, as well as ſome lofty planes and cheſnuts; and when the ſhrubs were grubbed up in ſpring, he left many beautiful ones peculiar to the country. To ſee the ſudden creation of this garden, one would think the genius of the place obeyed the wand of an enchanter: but it is not every gardener who can employ ſome hundred men. A ſummer-houſe in a tree, a fiſh-pond, and a gravel-walk, were finiſhed before the end of May, beſides having committed to the earth great quantities of every vegetable production known in our beſt gardens. Theſe vegetables throve beyond belief or example. The ſize of the cabbages, the cucumbers, and melons, produced here, was incredible. They uſed, in the following years, to ſend them down to aſtoniſh us at Albany. On

the

the continent they were not equalled, except in another military garden, which emulation had produced at Niagara. The major's œconomical views were fully anſwered. Pigs and poultry in abundance were procured, and ſupported by their Indian corn crop; they even procured cows, and made hay in the iſlands to feed them. The proviſions allowed them by the public afforded a ſufficiency of flour, butter, and ſalt meat, as alſo rice. The lake afforded quantities of excellent fiſh, much of which the ſoldiers dried for winter conſumption; and fruit and vegetables they had in profuſion from their gardens. In ſhort, they all lived in a kind of rough luxury, and were enabled to ſave much of their pay. The example ſpread to all the line of forts; ſuch is the power of one active liberal mind purſuing its object with undeviating ſteadineſs.

We are now about to leave Ontario; but perhaps the reader is not willing to take a final farewell of Colonel Duncan. The Indian war then, which broke out after the

peace

peace of 1762, occaſioned the detention of the regiment in America till 1765; and during all that time this paternal commander continued with ſix companies of the regiment at Ontario, improving both the ſoil and the inhabitants. He then returned with the regiment, of which he was become lieutenant-colonel, to Ireland. Soon after he retired from the army, and took up his reſidence on the family eſtate of Lundie, having previouſly married the woman of his heart, who had engaged his early affections, and correſponded with him during his long abſence. Here he was as happy as a ſhattered invalid could be, highly reſpected by the neighbourhood, and frequently viſited by his old pupils, who ſtill regarded him with warm attachment. He died childleſs, and was ſucceeded by the admiral, on whoſe merit it is needleſs to expatiate; for who has forgotten the victor of Camperdown?

A company of the 55th was this ſummer ordered to occupy the fort at Albany. This was commanded by a ſagacious veteran called

called Winepreſs. My father did not exactly belong to this company, but he wiſhed to return to Albany, where he was known and liked; and the colonel thought, from his ſteadineſs and experience, he would be particularly uſeful in paying the detached parties, and purchaſing for the regiment ſuch ſtores as they might have occaſion for. We ſet out in our bateaux; and I conſoled myſelf for not only leaving Oſwego, but what was nearer my heart, a tame partridge and ſix pigeons, by the hopes of wandering through Woodcreek, and ſleeping in the woods. In both theſe particulars I was diſappointed. Our boats being lighter, made better way, and we were received in new ſettlements a little diſtant from the river. The moſt important occurrence to me happened the firſt day. On that evening we returned to fort Bruerton; I found Captain Campbell delighted with my reading, my memory, and my profound admiration of the friendſhip betwixt David and Jonathan. We ſtaid the moſt of the next day. I was much captivated with the cop-

per-

per-plates in an edition of Paradiſe Loſt, which, on that account, he had given me to admire. When I was coming away he ſaid to me, "Keep that book, my dear child; I foretell that the time will come when you will take pleaſure in it." Never did a preſent produce ſuch joy and gratitude. I thought I was dreaming, and looked at it a hundred times, before I could believe any thing ſo fine was really my own. I tried to read it; and almoſt cried with vexation when I found I could not underſtand it. At length I quitted it in deſpair; yet always ſaid to myſelf, I ſhall be wiſer next year.

CHAP. XVI.

Madame's Family and Society deſcribed.

THE next year (1762) came, and found me at Albany; if not wiſer, more knowing. Again I was ſhut up in a fort, ſolemn and ſolitary; I had no companion, and was never allowed to go out, except with my mother, and that was very ſeldom indeed. All the fine forenoons I ſat, and ſewed; and when others went to play in the evening, I was very often ſent up to a large waſte room, to get a long taſk by heart of ſomething very grave and repulſive. In this waſte room, however, lay an old tattered dictionary, Bailey's I think, which proved a treaſure to me; the very few books we had, being all religious or military. I had returned to my Milton, which I conned ſo induſtriouſly, that I got it almoſt by heart, as far as I went; yet took

took care to go no farther than I underſtood. To make out this point, when any one encouraged me by ſpeaking kindly to me, I was ſure to aſk the meaning of ſome word or phraſe: and when I found people were not at all willing or able to gratify me, I at length had recourſe to my waſte room and tattered dictionary, which I found a perpetual fountain of knowledge. Conſequently the waſte room, formerly a gloomy priſon, which I thought of with horror, became now the ſcene of all my enjoyment; and the moment I was diſmiſſed from my taſk, I flew to it with anticipated delight; for there were my treaſure, Milton and the ragged dictionary, which was now become the light of my eyes. I ſtudied the dictionary with indefatigable diligence; which I began now to conſider as very entertaining. I was extremely ſorry for the fallen angels, deeply intereſted in their ſpeeches, and ſo well acquainted with their names, that I could have called the roll of them with all the eaſe imaginable. Time run on, I was eight years old,

and quite uneducated, except reading and plain-work: when company came I was conſidered as in the way, and ſent up to my waſte room; but here lay my whole pleaſure, for I had neither companions nor amuſement. It was, however, talked of, that I ſhould go to a convent, at Trois Revieres, in Canada, where ſeveral officers had ſent their daughters to be educated.

The fame of Aunt Schuyler every now and then reached my ears, and ſunk deep in my mind. To ſee her I thought was a happineſs too great for me; and I was continually drawing pictures of her to myſelf. Meanwhile the 17th regiment arrived; and a party of them took poſſeſſion of the fort. During this interim, peace had been proclaimed; and the 55th regiment were under orders for Britain.

My father, not being ſatisfied with the ſingle apartment allotted to him by the new comers, removed to the town; where a friend of his, a Scotch merchant, gave him a lodging in his own houſe, next to that very Madame Schuyler who had been ſo long

my

my daily thoughts and nightly dreams. We had not been long there when Aunt heard that my father was a good, plain, upright man, without pretenſions, but very well principled. She ſent a married lady, the wife of her favorite nephew, who reſided with her at the time, to aſk us to ſpend the evening with her. I think I have not been on any occaſion more aſtoniſhed, than when, with no little awe and agitation, I came into the preſence of Madame. She was ſitting; and filled a great chair, from which ſhe ſeldom moved. Her aſpect was compoſed, and her manner, ſuch as was at firſt, more calculated to inſpire reſpect, than conciliate affection. Not having the ſmalleſt ſolicitude about what people thought of her, and having her mind generally occupied with matters of weighty concern, the firſt expreſſion of her kindneſs ſeemed rather a lofty courteſy, than attractive affability: but ſhe ſhone out by degrees; and ſhe was ſure eventually to pleaſe every one worth pleaſing, her converſation was ſo rich, ſo various, ſo informing; every thing ſhe ſaid

bore ſuch a ſtamp of reality; her character had ſuch a graſp in it. Her expreſſions, not from art and ſtudy, but from the clear perceptions of her ſound and ſtrong mind, were powerful, diſtinct, and exactly adapted to the occaſion. You ſaw her thoughts as they occurred to her mind, without the uſual bias riſing from either a fear to offend, or a wiſh to pleaſe. This was one of the ſecrets in which lay the ſingular power of her converſation. When ordinary people ſpeak to you, your mind wanders in ſearch of the motives that prompt their diſcourſe, or the views and prejudices which bias it; when thoſe who excite (and perhaps ſolicit) admiration talk, you are ſecretly aſking yourſelf whether they mean to inform, or dazzle you. All this interior canvaſs vaniſhed before the evident truth and unſtudied eaſe of Aunt's diſcourſe. On a nearer knowledge, too, you found ſhe was much more intent to ſerve, than pleaſe you, and too much engroſſed by her endeavours to do ſo, to ſtop and look round for your gratitude, which ſhe heeded juſt

as little as your admiration. In ſhort, ſhe informed, enlightened, and ſerved you, without levying on you any tribute whatever, except the information you could give in return. I deſcribe her appearance as it then ſtruck me; and, once for all, her manners and converſation, as I thought of them when I was older and knew better how to diſtinguiſh and appretiate. Every thing about her was calculated to increaſe the impreſſion of reſpect and admiration; which, from the earlieſt dawn of reflection, I had been taught to entertain for her. Her houſe was the moſt ſpacious and beſt furniſhed I had ever entered. The family pictures, and ſcripture paintings, were to me particularly aweful and impreſſive. I compared them to the models which had before exiſted in my imagination, and was delighted or mortified, as I found they did or did not reſemble them.

The family with which ſhe was then ſurrounded, awakened a more than common intereſt. Her favorite nephew, the eldeſt ſon of her much beloved ſiſter, had, by his

father's desire, entered into partnership in a great commercial house in New York. Smitten with the uncommon beauty of a young lady of seventeen, from Rhode Island, he had married her without waiting for the consent of his relations. Had he lived in Albany, and connected himself with one of his fellow citizens, bred up in frugal simplicity, this step might have been easily got over. But an expensive and elegant style of living begun already to take place in New York; which was, from the residence of the governor and commander in chief, become the seat of a little court. The lady, whom Philip had married, was of a family originally Scotch; and derived her descent at no great distance from one of the noblest families in that country *. Gay, witty, and very engaging, beloved and indulged, beyond measure, by a fond husband, who was generous and good-natured to excess, this young beauty became "the glass of fashion, and the mould of form."

* Earl of Crawford's.

And

And the houſe of this amiable couple was the reſort of all that was gay and elegant, and the centre of attraction to ſtrangers. The mayor, who was a perſon ſingularly judicious, and moſt impartial in the affection which he diſtributed amongſt his large family, ſaw clearly that the young people truſted too much to the wealth he was known to poſſeſs, and had got into a very expenſive ſtyle of living; which, on examining their affairs, he did not think likely to be long ſupported by the profits of the buſineſs in which his ſon was engaged. The probable conſequence of a failure, he ſaw, would ſo far involve him as to injure his own family: this he prevented. Peace was daily expected: and the very exiſtence of the buſineſs in which he was engaged, depended on the army; which his houſe was wont to furniſh with every thing neceſſary. He clearly foreſaw the withdrawing of this army; and that the habits of open hoſpitality and expenſive living would remain, when the ſources of their preſent ſupplies were dried up. He inſiſted on his

ſon's entirely quitting this line, and retiring to Albany. He loaded a ſhip on his own account for the Weſt Indies, and ſent the young man, as ſupercargo, to diſpoſe of the lading. As houſe-keeping was given up in New York, and not yet reſumed in Albany, this young creature had only the option of returning to the large family ſhe had left, or going to her father-in-law's. Aunt Schuyler, ever generous and conſiderate, had every allowance to make for the high ſpirit and fine feelings of this unexperienced young creature; and invited her, with her little daughter, to remain with her till her huſband's return. Nothing could be more pleaſing than to witneſs the maternal tenderneſs and delicate confidence, which appeared in the behaviour of Madame to this new inmate; whoſe fine countenance ſeemed animated with the livelieſt gratitude, and the utmoſt ſolicitude to pleaſe her revered benefactreſs. The child was a creature not to be ſeen with indifference. The beauty and underſtanding that appeared full blown in her mother,

ſeemed

ſeemed budding with the loveliеſt promiſe in the young Catalina; a child, whom to this day, I cannot recollect without an emotion of tenderneſs. She was then about three years old. Beſides theſe intereſting ſtrangers, there was a grand-niece whom ſhe had brought up. Such was her family when I firſt knew it. In the courſe of the evening, dreams began to be talked of; and every one in turn gave their opinion with regard to that wonderful mode, in which the mind acts independent of the ſenſes, aſſerting its immaterial nature in a manner the moſt concluſive. I mu'ed and liſtened, till at length the ſpirit of quotation (which very early began to haunt me) moved me to repeat, from Paradiſe Loſt,

" When nature reſts,
" Oft in her abſence mimic fancy wakes, to imitate her,
" But misjoining ſhapes, wild work produces oft."

I ſat ſilent when my bolt was ſhot; but ſo did not Madame. Aſtoniſhed to hear her favourite author quoted readily, by ſo mere a child, ſhe attached much more import-

ance to the circumſtance than it deſerved. So much, indeed, that long after, ſhe uſed to repeat it to ſtrangers in my preſence, by way of accounting for the great fancy ſhe had taken to me. Theſe partial repetitions of hers fixed this lucky quotation indelibly in my mind. Any perſon who has ever been in love, and has unexpectedly heard that ſweeteſt of all muſic the praiſe of his beloved, may judge of my ſenſations when Madame began to talk with enthuſiaſm of Milton. The bard of Paradiſe was indeed "the dweller of my ſecret ſoul;" and it never was my fortune before to meet with any one who underſtood or reliſhed him. I knew very well that the divine ſpirit was his Urania. But I took his invocation quite literally, and had not the ſmalleſt doubt of his being as much inſpired as ever Iſaiah was. This was a very hopeful opening; yet I was much too ſimple and too humble to expect that I ſhould excite the attention of Madame. My ambition aimed at nothing higher than winning the heart of the ſweet Catalina; and I thought

if

if heaven had given me ſuch another little ſiſter, and enabled me to teach her, in due time, to reliſh Milton, I ſhould have nothing left to aſk.

Time went on; we were neighbours, and became intimate in the family. I was beloved by Catalina, careſſed by her charming mother, and frequently noticed by Aunt, whom I very much inclined to love, were it not that it ſeemed to me as if, in ſo doing, I ſhould aſpire too high. Yet in my viſits to her, where I had now a particular low chair in a corner aſſigned me, I had great enjoyment of various kinds. Firſt, I met there with all thoſe ſtrangers or inhabitants who were particularly reſpectable for their character or converſation. Then I was witneſs to a thouſand acts of beneficence that charmed me, I could not well ſay why, not having learned to analyze my feelings. Then I met with the Spectator and a few other ſuitable books, which I read over and over with unwearied diligence, not having the leaſt idea of treating a book as a play-

thing, to be thrown away when the charm of novelty was paſt. I was by degrees getting into favour with Aunt Schuyler, when a new arrival for a while ſuſpended the growing intimacy. I allude to the colonel of my father's regiment, who had removed from Crown Point to Albany.

The colonel was a married man, whoſe wife, like himſelf, had paſſed her early days in a courſe of frivolous gaiety. They were now approaching the decline of life, and finding nothing pleaſing in the retroſpect nor flattering in proſpect, time hung on their hands. Where nothing round them was congenial to their habits, they took a fancy to have me frequently with them as matter of amuſement. They had had children, and when they died their mutual affection died with them. They had had a fortune, and when it was ſpent, all their pleaſures were exhauſted. They were by this time drawing out the vapid dregs of a taſteleſs exiſtence, without energy to make themſelves feared, or thoſe gentle and amiable qualities which attract love:

love: yet they were not ſtained with groſs vices, and were people of character as the world goes.

What a new world was I entered into! From the quiet ſimplicity of my home, where I heard nothing but truth, and ſaw nothing but innocence; and from my good friend's reſpectable manſion, where knowledge reflected light upon virtue, and where the hours were too few for their occupation; to be a daily witneſs of the manner in which theſe liſtleſs ghoſts of departed faſhion and gaiety drank up the bitter lees of miſuſed time, fortune, and capacity. Never was leſſon more impreſſive; and young as I was, I did not fail to mark the contraſt, and draw the obvious inference. From this hopeful ſchool I was ſet free the following ſummer (when I had entered on my ninth year), by the colonel's return to England. They were, indeed, kind to me; but the gratitude I could not but feel was a ſentiment independent of attachment, and early taught me how difficult it is, nay how painful, to disjoin eſteem from gratitude.

CHAP. XVII.

Sir Jeffrey Amherſt.—Mutiny.—Indian War.

At this time (1765) peace had been for ſome time eſtabliſhed in Europe; but the ferment and agitation which even the lees and ſediments of war kept up in the northern colonies, and the many regulations requiſite to eſtabliſh quiet and ſecurity in the new acquired Canadian territory, required all the care and prudence of the commander in chief, and no little time. At this criſis, for ſuch it proved, Sir Jeffery, afterwards Lord Amherſt, came up to Albany. A mutiny had broke out among the troops on account of withholding the proviſions they uſed to receive in time of actual war; and this diſcontent was much aggravated by their finding themſelves treated with a coldneſs, amounting to averſion, by the people of the country; who now forgot paſt ſervices, and

ſhewed

ſhewed in all tranſactions a ſpirit of diſlike bordering on hoſtility to their protectors, on whom they no longer felt themſelves dependent.

Sir Jeffery, however, was received like a prince at Albany, reſpect for his private character conquering the anti-military prejudice. The commander in chief was in thoſe days a great man on the continent, having, on account of the diſtance from the ſeat of government, much diſcretionary power entruſted to him. Never was it more ſafely lodged than in the hands of this judicious veteran, whoſe comprehenſion of mind, impartiality, ſteadineſs, and cloſe application to buſineſs, peculiarly fitted him for his important ſtation. At his table all ſtrangers were entertained with the utmoſt liberality; while his own ſingular temperance, early hours, and ſtrict morals, were peculiarly calculated to render him popular among the old inhabitants. Here I witneſſed an impreſſive ſpectacle: the guard houſe was in the middle of the ſtreet, oppoſite to Madame's; there

was

was a guard extraordinary mounted in honor of Sir Jeffery; at the hour of changing it all the ſoldiery in the fort aſſembled there, and laid down their arms, refuſing to take them up again. I ſhall never forget the pale and agitated countenances of the officers; they being too well aſſured that it was a thing pre-concerted; which was actually the caſe, for at Crown Point and Quebec the ſame thing was done on the ſame day. Sir Jeffery came down, and made a calm diſpaſſionate ſpeech to them, promiſing them a continuance of their privileges till further orders from home, and offering pardon to the whole, with the exception of a few ringleaders, whoſe lives, however, were ſpared. This gentle dealing had its due effect; but at Quebec the mutiny aſſumed a moſt alarming aſpect, and had more ſerious conſequences, though it was in the end quelled. All this time Sir Jeffery's viſits to Madame had been frequent, both out of reſpect to her character and converſation, and to reap the benefit of her local knowledge on

an

an approaching emergency. This was a ſpirit of diſaffection, then only ſuſpected, among the Indians on the Upper Lakes, which ſoon after broke ſuddenly out into open hoſtility. In conſequence of her opinion he ſummoned Sir W. Johnſon to concert ſome conciliatory meaſures. But the commencement of the war at this very criſis, detained him longer to arrange with General Bradſtreet and Sir William the operations of the enſuing campaign.

This war broke out very opportunely in ſome reſpects. It afforded a pretext for granting thoſe indulgencies to the troops, which it would otherwiſe have been impolitic to give and unſafe to withhold. It furniſhed occupation for an army too large to lie idle ſo far from the ſource of authority; which could not yet be ſafely withdrawn till matters were on a more ſtable footing; and it made the inhabitants once more ſenſible of their protection. Madame had predicted this event, knowing better than any one how the affections of theſe tribes might be loſt or won. She well

well knew the probable conſequences of the negligence with which they were treated, ſince the ſubjection of Canada made us conſider them as no longer capable of giving us trouble. Pondiac, chief of thoſe nations who inhabited the borders of the great lakes, poſſeſſed one of thoſe minds which break through all diſadvantages to aſſert their innate ſuperiority.

The riſe and conduct of this war, were I able to narrate them diſtinctly, the reader would perhaps ſcarce have patience to attend to; indiſtinct as they muſt appear, retraced from my broken recollections. Could I however do juſtice to the bravery, the conduct, and magnanimity in ſome inſtances, and the ſingular addreſs and ſtratagem in others, which this extraordinary perſon diſplayed in the courſe of it, the power of untutored intellect would appear incredible to thoſe who never ſaw man but in an artificial or degraded ſtate, exalted by ſcience, or debaſed by conſcious ignorance and inferiority. During the late war Pondiac occupied a central ſituation,

bounded

bounded on each ſide by the French and Engliſh territories. His uncommon ſagacity taught him to make the moſt of his local advantages, and of that knowledge of the European character which reſulted from this neighbourhood. He had that ſort of conſequence which in the laſt century raiſed the able and politic princes of the houſe of Savoy to the throne they have ſince enjoyed. Pondiac held a petty balance between two great contending powers. Even the privilege of paſſing through his territories was purchaſed with preſents, promiſes, and flatteries. While the court which was paid to this wily warrior, to ſecure his alliance, or at leaſt his neutrality, made him too ſenſible of his own conſequence, it gave him a near view of our policy and modes of life. He often paſſed ſome time, on various pretexts, by turns at Montreal and in the Engliſh camp. The ſubjection of Canada proved fatal to his power, and he could no longer play the ſkilful game between both nations which had been ſo long carried on. The general advan-

tage

tage of his tribe is always the uppermoſt thought with an Indian. The liberal preſents which he had received from both parties, afforded him the means of confederating with diſtant nations, of whoſe alliance he thought to profit in his meditated hoſtilities.

There were at that time many tribes, then unknown to Europeans, on the banks of Lake Superior, to whom fire-arms and other Britiſh goods were captivating novelties. When the French inſidiouſly built the fort of Detroit, and the ſtill more detached one of Michillimackinac, on bounds hitherto undefined, they did it on the footing of having ſecure places of trade, not to overawe the natives, but to protect themſelves from the Engliſh. They amply rewarded them for permiſſion to erect theſe fortreſſes, and purchaſed at any expence that friendſhip from them without which it would have been impoſſible to have maintained their ground in theſe remote regions. All this liberality and flattery, though merely founded on ſelf-intereſt, had

had its effect; and the French, who are ever verſatile and accommodating, who wore the Huron dreſs, and ſpoke the Huron language when they had any purpoſe to ſerve, were without doubt the favored nation. We, too apt to deſpiſe all foreigners, and not over complaiſant even when we have a purpoſe to ſerve, came with a high hand to occupy thoſe forts which we conſidered as our right after the conqueſt of Canada, but which had been always held by the more crafty French as an indulgence. Theſe troops, without ceremony, appropriated, and, following Major Duncan's example, cultivated all the fertile lands around Detroit, as far as fancy or convenience led them. The lands round Ontario were in a different predicament, being regularly purchaſed by Sir William Johnſon. In conſequence of the peace which had taken place the year before, all the garriſons were conſidered as in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity.

Pondiac, in the mean time, conducted himſelf with the utmoſt addreſs, concealing

the

the indignation which brooded in his mind under the ſemblance of the greateſt frankneſs and good humour. Maſter of various languages, and moſt completely maſter of his temper and countenance, he was at home every where, and paid frequent friendly viſits to Detroit, near which, in the fineſt country imaginable, was his abode. He frequently dined with the meſs, and ſent them fiſh and veniſon. Unlike other Indians, his manner appeared frank and communicative, which opened the minds of others and favuored his deep deſigns. He was ſoon maſter, through their careleſs converſation, of all he wiſhed to know relative to the ſtores, reſources, and intentions of the troops. Madame, who well knew the Indian character in general, and was no ſtranger to the genius and abilities of Pondiac, could not be ſatisfied with the manner in which he was neglected on one hand, nor his eaſy admiſſion to the garriſon on the other. She always ſaid they ſhould either make him their friend, or know him to be their foe.

In

In the mean while no one could be more buſy than this politic warrior. While the Indians were in ſtrict alliance with the French, they had their wigwams and their Indian corn within ſight of the fort, lived in a conſiderable kind of village on the border of the lake, and had a daily intercourſe of traffic and civility with the troops. There was a large eſplanade before the garriſon, where the Indians and ſoldiers ſometimes ſocially played at ball together. Pondiac had a double view in his intended hoſtility. The Canadian prieſts, with the wonted reſtleſs intriguing ſpirit of their nation, fomented the diſcontents of the Indians. They perſuaded them, and perhaps flattered themſelves, that if they (the Indians) would ſeize the chain of forts, the Grand Monarque would ſend a fleet to reconquer Canada, and guarrantee all the forts he ſhould take to Pondiac. Upon this he did not altogether depend: yet he thought if he could ſurprize Detroit, and ſeize a veſſel which was expected up from Oſwego with ammunition and ſtores, he

might eaſily take the other ſmall veſſels, and ſo command the lake. This would be ſhut up by ice for the winter, and it would take no little time to build on its banks another fleet, the only means by which an army could again approach the place. I will not attempt to lead my reader through all the intricacies of an Indian war (entirely ſuch), and therefore of all wars the moſt incomprehenſible in its progreſs, and moſt difficult in its terms. The reſult of two maſter-ſtrokes of ſtratagem, with which it opened, are ſuch as are curious enough, however, to find a place in this detail.

CHAP. XVIII.

Pondiac.—Sir Robert D.

ALL the diſtant tribes were to join on hearing Pondiac was in poſſeſſion of the fort. Many of thoſe neareſt, in the mean while, were to lie in the neighbouring woods, armed and ready to ruſh out on the diſcharge of a cannon, on that day which was meant to be fatal to the garriſon. Out of the intended maſſacre, however, the artillery were to be ſpared that they might work the guns. Near the fort lived a much admired Indian beauty, who was known in the garriſon by the name, or title rather, of the Queen of Hearts. She not only ſpoke French, but dreſſed not inelegantly in the European manner, and being ſprightly and captivating, was encouraged by Pondiac to go into the garriſon on various pretexts. The advantage

the Indian chief meant to derive from this ſtratagem was, that ſhe might be a kind of ſpy in the fort, and that by her influence over the commander, the wonted caution with regard to Indians might be relaxed, and the ſoldiers permitted to go out unarmed and mingle in their diverſions. This plan in ſome degree ſucceeded. There was at length a day fixed, on which a great match at foot-ball was to be decided between two parties of Indians, and all the garriſon were invited to be ſpectators. It was to be played on the eſplanade oppoſite to the fort. At a given ſignal the ball was to be driven over the wall of the fort, which, as there was no likelihood of its ever being attacked by cannon, was merely a palliſade and earthen breaſt-work. The Indians were to run haſtily in, on pretence of recovering the ball, and ſhut the gate againſt the ſoldiers, whom Pondiac and his people were to tomahawk immediately.

Pondiac, jealous of the Queen of Hearts, gave orders, after ſhe was let into the ſecret

cret of this ſtratagem, that ſhe ſhould go no more into the fort. Whether ſhe was offended by this want of confidence; whether her humanity revolted at the intended maſſacre, or whether ſhe really felt a particular attachment prevailing over her fidelity to her countrymen, ſo it was; her affection got the better of her patriotiſm. A ſoldier's wife, who carried out to her the day before ſome article of dreſs ſhe had made for her, was the medium ſhe made uſe of to convey a hint of the intended treachery. The colonel was unwilling, from the dark hint conveyed, to have recourſe to any violent meaſures; and was, indeed, doubtful of the fact. To kindle the flames of war wantonly, ſurrounded, as he was, by hoſtile nations, who would carry their vengeance into the defenceleſs new ſettlements, was a dreadful expedient. Without betraying his informer, he reſolved to convince himſelf. The men were ordered to go out to ſee the ball played, but to keep under ſhelter of the fort; and if they ſaw the ball driven in, immediately

to return and ſhut the gates. I cannot diſtinctly remember the exact mode in which this manœuvre was managed, but the conſequence I know was, firſt, the repulſing of the Indians from the gate, and then the commencing of open hoſtilities on their ſide, while the garriſon was for ſome time in a ſtate of blockade.

Meantime the Indians had concerted another ſtratagem, to ſeize a veſſel loaded with ſtores, which was daily expected from Niagara. Commodore Grant, a younger brother of the Glenmoriſton family in Inverneſsſhire, was, and I believe ſtill is, commander of the lakes; an office which has now greatly riſen in importance. At that time his own veſſel and two or three ſmaller were employed in that navigation. This little ſquadron was very intereſting on a double account. It carried ſtores, troops, &c. which could not otherwiſe be tranſported, there being no way of proceeding by land; and again, the ſize of the veſſels and a few ſwivels or ſmall cannon they carried enabled them to command even a

fleet

fleet of canoes, should the Indians be disposed to attack them. Of this there was at the time not the least apprehension; and here I must stop to give some account of the first victim to this unlooked-for attack.

Sir Robert D. was the representative of an ancient English family, of which he was originally the sixth brother. At a certain time of life, somewhere betwixt twenty-five and thirty, each was, in turn, attacked with a hypochondriac disorder, which finally proved fatal. Sir Robert, in turn, succeeded to the estate and title, and to the dreadful apprehension of being visited by the same calamity. This was the more to be regretted, as he was a person of very good abilities, and an excellent disposition. The time now approached when he was to arrive at that period of life at which the fatal malady attacked his brothers. He felt, or imagined he felt, some symptoms of the approaching gloom. What should he do? medicine had not availed. Should he travel; alas! his brothers had travelled, but the blackest despair was their compa-

nion. Should he try a ſea voyage, one of them commanded a ſhip, and fate overtook him in his own cabin. It occurred to him that, by living among a people who were utter ſtrangers to this moſt dreadful of all viſitations, and adopting their manner of life, he might eſcape its influence. He came over to America, where his younger brother ſerved in a regiment then in Canada. He felt his melancholy daily increaſing, and reſolved immediately to put in execution his plan of entirely renouncing the European modes of life, and incorporating himſelf in ſome Indian tribe, hoping the novelty of the ſcene, and the hardſhips to which it would neceſſarily ſubject him, might give an entire new turn to his ſpirits. He communicated his intention to Sir William Johnſon, who entirely approved of it, and adviſed him to go up to the great lake among the Hurons, who were an intelligent and ſenſible race, and inhabited a very fine country, and among whom he would not be liable to meet his countrymen, or be tempted back to the mode of life he wiſhed

for

for a while entirely to forſake. This was no flight of caprice, but a project undertaken in the moſt deliberate manner, and with the moſt rational views. It completely ſucceeded. The Hurons were not a little flattered to think that an European of Sir Robert's rank was going to live with them, and be their brother. He did not fail to conciliate them with preſents, and ſtill more by his ready adoption of their dreſs and manners. The ſteadineſs he ſhewed in adhering to a plan where he had not only ſevere hardſhips, but numberleſs diſguſts to encounter, ſhewed him poſſeſſed of invincible patience and fortitude; while his letters to his friends, with whom he regularly correſponded, evinced much good ſenſe and juſt obſervation. For two years he led this life, which habit made eaſy, and the enjoyment of equal ſpirits agreeable. Convinced that he had attained his deſired end, and conquered the hereditary tendency ſo much dreaded, he prepared to return to ſociety, intending, if his deſpondency ſhould recur,

to return once more to his Indian habit, and rejoin his Huron friends. When the intention was formed by Pondiac and his aſſociates of attacking the commodore's veſſel, Sir Robert, who wiſhed now to be conveyed to ſome of the forts, diſcerned the Britiſh ſhip from the oppoſite ſhore of the great lake, and being willing to avail himſelf of that conveyance, embarked in a canoe with ſome of his own Indian friends, to go on board the commodore. Meanwhile a very large canoe, containing as many of Pondiac's followers as it could poſſibly hold, drew near the king's ſhip, and made a pretext of coming in a friendly manner, while two or three others, filled with warriors, hovered at a diſtance. They had fallen ſhort of their uſual policy; for they were painted red, and had about them ſome of thoſe ſymbols of hoſtility, which are perfectly underſtood amongſt each other. Some friendly Indians, who happened to be by accident on board the commodore's veſſel, diſcerned theſe, and warned him of the

the approaching danger. On their drawing near the veſſel they were ordered to keep off. Thinking they were diſcovered, and that things could be no worſe, they attempted to ſpring on board, armed with their tomahawks and ſcalping-knives, but were very ſoon repulſed. The other canoes, ſeeing all was diſcovered, drew near to ſupport their friends, but were ſoon repulſed by a diſcharge of the ſix-pounders. At this criſis, the canoe, containing Sir Robert, began to advance in another direction. The Indians who accompanied him had not been appriſed of the propoſed attack; but being Hurons, the commodore never doubted of their hoſtility. Sir Robert ſat in the end of the canoe dreſſed in all the coſtume of a Huron, and wrapt up in his blanket. He ordered his companions to approach the ſhip immediately, not deterred by their calling to them to keep off, intending, directly, to make himſelf known; but in the confuſion he was accidentally ſhot.

To deſcribe the univerſal ſorrow diffuſed

over the province in consequence of this fatal accident would be impossible. Nothing since the death of Lord Howe had excited such general regret. The Indians carried the body to Detroit, and delivered it up to the garrison for interment. He had kept a journal during his residence on the lakes, which was never recovered, and must certainly have contained (proceeding from such a mind so circumstanced) much curious matter. Sir Charles, his younger brother, then a captain in the 17th, succeeded him, but had no visitation of the depression of mind so fatal to his brothers.

Rumours, enlarged by distance, soon reached Albany of this unlooked-for attack of the Indians. Indeed, before they had any authentic details, they heard of it in the most alarming manner from the terrified back settlers, who fled from their incursions. Those who dwell in a land of security, where only the distant rumour of war can reach them, would know something of the value of safety could they be but one day transported to a region where this

plague

plague is let loose; where the timorous and the helpless are made to

"Die many times before their death."

by restless rumour, cruel suspence, and anticipated misery. Many of the regiments employed in the conquest of Canada had returned home, or gone to the West Indies. Had the Canadians had spirit and cohesion to rise in a body and join the Indians, 'tis hard to say what might have been the consequence. Madame, whose cautions were neglected in the day of prosperity, became now the public oracle, and was resorted to and consulted by all. Formerly she blamed their false security and neglect of that powerful chief, who, having been accustomed to flattery and gifts from all sides, was all at once made too sensible that it was from war he derived his importance. Now she equally blamed the universal trepidation, being confident in our resources, and well knowing what useful allies the Mohawks, ever hostile to the Canadian Indians, might prove.

Never was our good aunt more consulted or more respected. Sir Jeffery Amherst planned at Albany an expedition to be commanded by General Bradstreet, for which both New York and New England raised corps of provincials.

CHAP. XIX.

Death of Captain Dalziel.—Sudden Deceaſe of an Indian Chief.—Madame.—Her Protegées.

MEANTIME an expreſs arrived with the afflicting news of the loſs of a captain and twenty men of the 55th regiment. The name of this lamented officer was Dalziel, of the Carnwath family. Colonel Beckwith had ſent for a reinforcement. This Major Duncan hefitated to ſend, till better informed as to the mode of conveyance. Captain Dalziel volunteered going. I cannot exactly ſay how they proceeded; but, after having penetrated through the woods till they were in ſight of Detroit, they were diſcovered and attacked by a party of Indians, and made their way with the utmoſt difficulty, after the loſs of their commander and the third part of their number.

Major Duncan's comprehenſive mind

took in every thing that had any tendency to advance the general good, and cement old alliances. He saw none of the Hurons, whose territories lay far above Ontario, but those tribes whose course of hunting or fishing led them to his boundaries, were always kindly treated. He often made them presents of ammunition or provision, and did every thing in his power to conciliate them. Upon hearing of the outrage which the Hurons * had been guilty of, the heads of the tribe, with whom the major had cultivated the greatest intimacy, came to assure him of their good wishes and hearty co-operation. He invited them to come with their tribe to celebrate the birth-day of the new King, (His present Majesty,) which occurred a few days after, and there solemnly renew, with the usual ceremonies, the league offensive and defensive made between their fathers and the late King. They

* The author, perhaps, uses the term Huron, where that of Algonquin would have been more correct. She does not recollect the distinctive terms exactly, but applies the epithet, in general, to the Indians who then occupied the banks of the Huron Lake, and the adjacent country.

came accordingly in their beſt arms and dreſſes, and aſſiſted at a review, and at a kind of feaſt given on the occaſion, on the outſide of the fort. The chief and his brother, who were two fine noble looking men, were invited in to dine with the major and officers. When they arrived, and were ſeated, the major called for a glaſs of wine to drink his ſovereign's health; this was no ſooner done, than the ſachem's brother fell lifeleſs on the floor. They thought it was a fainting fit, and made uſe of the uſual applications to recover him, which, to their extreme ſurpriſe, proved ineffectual. His brother looked ſteadily on while all thoſe means were uſing; but when convinced of their inefficacy, ſat down, drew his mantle over his face, ſobbed aloud, and burſt into tears. This was an additional wonder. Through the traces of Indian recollection no perſon had been known to fall ſuddenly dead without any viſible cauſe, nor any warrior to ſhed tears. After a pauſe of deep ſilence, which no one felt inclined to break, the ſachem roſe with a collected and dignified air, and thus addreſſed the witneſſes of

" this

this affecting incident: "Generous Engliſh, "misjudge me not; though you have ſeen "me for once a child, in the day of battle "you will ſee a man, who will make the "Hurons weep blood. I was never thus "before. But to me my brother was all. "Had he died in battle, no look of mine "would change. His nation would ho-"nour him, but his foes ſhould lament "him. I ſee ſorrow in your counte-"nances; and I know you were not the "cauſe of my brother's death. Why, in-"deed, ſhould you take away a life that "was devoted to you? Generous Engliſh, "ye mourn for my brother, and I will "fight your battles." This aſſurance of his confidence was very neceſſary to quiet the minds of his friends; and the concern of the officers was much aggravated by the ſuſpicious circumſtances attending his death ſo immediately after drinking of the wine they had given him. The major ordered this lamented warrior to be interred with great ceremony. A ſolemn proceſſion, mournful muſic, the firing of cannon, and all other military honours, evinced his ſym-

pathy

pathy for the living, and his reſpect for the dead; and the reſult of this ſad event, in the end, rather tended to ſtrengthen the attachment of thoſe Indians to the Britiſh cauſe.

I have given this ſingular occurrence a place in theſe memoirs, as it ſerves to illuſtrate the calm good ſenſe and ſteady confidence, which made a part of the Indian character, and added value to their friendſhip when once it was fairly attained.

The 55th, which had been under orders to return home, felt a ſevere diſappointment in being, for two years more, confined to their ſylvan fortreſſes. Theſe, however, they embelliſhed, and rendered comfortable, with gardens and farm-grounds, that, to reſide in them, could no longer be accounted a penance. Yet, during the Indian war, they were, from motives of neceſſary caution, confined to very narrow limits; which, to thoſe accuſtomed to purſue their ſports with all that wild liberty and wide excurſion peculiar to ſavage hunters, was a hardſhip of which we can have no idea. Reſtrained from this unbounded licence,

cence, fishing became their next favourite pursuit, to which the lakes and rivers on which these forts were built, afforded great facility. Tempted by the abundance and excellence of the productions of these copious waters, they were led to endanger their health by their assiduity in this amusement. Agues, the disease of all new establishments, became frequent among them, and were aggravated by the home sickness. To this they were more peculiarly liable; as the regiment, just newly raised before they embarked for America, had quitted the bosom of their families, without passing through the gradation of boarding-schools and academies, as is usual in other countries.

What an unspeakable blessing to the inhabitants were the parish schools of the north, and how much humble worth and laborious diligence has been found among their teachers. In those lowly seminaries boys not only attained the rudiments of learning, but the principles of loyalty and genuine religion, with the abatement of a small tincture of idolatry; of which their household

houſehold gods were the only objects. Never ſurely was a mode of education ſo calculated to cheriſh attachment to thoſe tutelar deities. Even the Laird's ſon had often a mile or two to walk to his day ſchool; a neighbouring tenant's ſon carried the baſket which contained his ſimple dinner; and ſtill as they went along they were joined by other fellow travellers in the paths of learning. How cordial were thoſe intimacies, formed in the early period of life and of the day, while nature ſmiled around in dewy freſhneſs! How gladdening to the kind and artleſs heart were theſe early walks through the wild varieties of a romantic country, and among the peaceful cottages of ſimple peaſants *, from whence the incenſe of praiſe, "in ſounds by diſtance

* The Scottiſh peaſants, when they return to breakfaſt from their early labours, always read a portion of ſcripture, ſing ſome part of a pſalm, and pray. This practice is too general, either to diminiſh cheerfulneſs, or convey the idea of ſuperior ſanctity; while the effect of vocal muſic, riſing at once from ſo many ſeparate dwellings, is very impreſſive.

made

made more ſweet," roſe on the morning breeze! How chearing was the mid-day ſport, amid their native burns and braes, without the confinement of a formal play-ground! How delightful the evening walk homeward, animated by the conſciouſneſs of being about to meet all that was deareſt to the artleſs and affectionate mind! Thus the conſtitution was improved with the underſtanding; and they carried abroad into active life, the rigid fibre of the robuſt and hardy frame, and the warm and fond affections of the heart, uncorrupted and true to its firſt attachments. Never ſure were youth's firſt glowing feelings more alive than in the minds of thoſe young ſoldiers. From ſchool they were hurried into the greateſt fatigues and hardſhips, and the horrors of the moſt ſanguinary war; and from thence tranſported to the depth of thoſe central foreſts, where they formed to themſelves a little world, whoſe greateſt charm was the cheriſhed recollection of the ſimple and endeared ſcenes of their childhood, and of the beloved relations whom they had

had left behind, and to whom they languiſhed to return. They had not gone through the ordeal of the world, and could not cheer their exile by retracing its ways, its faſhions, or its amuſements. It is this domeſtic education, that unbroken ſeries of home joys and tender remembrances, that render the natives of the north ſo faithful to their filial and fraternal duties, and ſo attached to a bleak and rugged region, excelled in genial warmth of climate, and fertility of ſoil, in every country to which the ſpirit of adventure leads them.

I was now reſtored to my niche at Aunt Schuyler's, and not a little delighted with the importance which, in this eventful criſis, ſeemed to attach to her opinions. The times were too agitated to admit of her paying much attention to me: but I, who took the deepeſt intereſt in what was going on, and heard of nothing, abroad or at home, but Indians, and ſieges, and campaigns, was doubly awake to all the converſation I heard at home.

The expedition proceeded under General Brad-

Bradſtreet, while my father, recommended to his attention by Madame, held ſome temporary employment about muſtering the troops. My friend had now the ſatiſfaction of ſeeing her plans ſucceed in different inſtances.

Philip, ſince known by the title of General Schuyler, whom I have repeatedly mentioned, had now, in purſuance of the mode ſhe pointed out to him, attained to wealth and power; both which were rapidly increaſing. His brother Cortlandt, (the handſome ſavage) who had, by her advice, gone into the army, was returned from Ireland, the commander of a company; and married to a very pleaſing and eſtimable woman, whoſe perpetual vivacity and good humour threw a ray of light over the habitual reſerve of her huſband; who was amiable in domeſtic life, though cold and diſtant in his manner. They ſettled near the general, and paid a degree of attention to Madame that ſhewed the filial tie remained in full force.

The colonel, as he was then called, had built

built a houſe near Albany, in the Engliſh taſte, comparatively magnificent, where his family reſided, and where he carried on the buſineſs of his department. Thirty miles or more above Albany, in the direction of the Flats, and near the far-famed Saratoga, which was to be the ſcene of his future triumph, he had another eſtabliſhment. It was here that the colonel's political and economical genius had full ſcope. He had always the command of a great number of thoſe workmen who were employed in public buildings, &c. Thoſe were always in conſtant pay; it being neceſſary to engage them in that manner; and were, from the change of ſeaſons, the ſhutting of the ice, and other circumſtances, months unemployed. All theſe ſeaſons, when public buſineſs was interrupted, the workmen were employed in conſtructing ſquares of buildings in the nature of barracks, for the purpoſe of lodging artiſans and labourers of all kinds. Having previouſly obtained a large tract of very fertile lands from the crown, on which he built a ſpacious and

con-

convenient houſe; he conſtructed thoſe barracks at a diſtance, not only as a nurſery for the arts which he meant to encourage, but as the materials of a future colony, which he meant to plant out around him. He had here a number of negroes well acquainted with felling of trees and managing ſaw-mills; of which he erected ſeveral. And while theſe were employed in carrying on a very advantageous trade of deals and lumber, which were floated down on rafts to New York, they were at the ſame time clearing the ground for the colony the colonel was preparing to eſtabliſh.

This new ſettlement was an aſylum for every one who wanted bread and a home: from the variety of employments regularly diſtributed, every artiſan and every labourer found here lodging and occupation: ſome hundreds of people, indeed, were employed at once. Thoſe who were in winter engaged at the ſaw-mills, were in ſummer equally buſied at a large and productive fiſhery. The artiſans got lodging

and

and firing for two or three years, at firſt, beſides being well paid for every thing they did. Flax was raiſed, and dreſſed, and finally ſpun and made into linen there; and as artiſans were very ſcarce in the country, every one ſent linen to weave, flax to dreſs, &c. to the colonel's colony. He paid them liberally; and having always abundance of money in his hands, could afford to be the loſer at firſt, to be amply repaid in the end. It is inconceivable what dexterity, addreſs, and deep policy were exhibited in the management of this new ſettlement; the growth of which was rapid beyond belief. Every mechanic ended in being a farmer, that is a profitable tenant to the owner of the ſoil; and new recruits of artiſans from the north of Ireland chiefly ſupplied their place, nouriſhed with the golden dews which this ſagacious projector could ſo eaſily command. The rapid increaſe and advantageous reſult of this eſtabliſhment were aſtoniſhing. 'Tis impoſſible for my imperfect recollection to do juſtice to the capacity diſplayed in theſe regulations,

tions. But I have thus endeavoured to trace to its original ſource that wealth and power which became, afterwards, the means of ſupporting an aggreſſion ſo formidable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Madame's Popularity.—Exchange of Priſoners.

IN the front of Madame's houſe was a portico, towards the ſtreet. To this ſhe was ſupported, in fine evenings, when the whole town were enjoying themſelves on their reſpective ſeats of one kind or other. To her's there were a few ſteps of aſcent, on which we uſed humbly to ſeat ourſelves; while a ſucceſſion of "the elders of that city" paid their reſpects to Madame, and converſed with her by turns. Never was levee better attended. "Aunt Schuyler is come out," was a taliſmanic ſentence that produced pleaſure in every countenance, and ſet every one in motion who hoped to be well received; for, as I have formerly obſerved, Aunt knew the value of time much too well to devote it to every one. We lived all this time next door to her, and were often of theſe evening parties.

The Indian war was now drawing to a cloſe, after occaſioning great diſquiet, boundleſs expence, and ſome bloodſhed. Even when we had the advantage which our tactics and artillery in ſome inſtances gave, it was a warfare of the moſt precarious and perplexing kind. It was ſomething like hunting in a foreſt at beſt; could you but have ſuppoſed the animals you purſued armed with miſſile weapons, and ever ready to ſtart out of ſome unlooked-for place. Our faithful Indian confederates, as far as I can recollect, were more uſeful to us on this occaſion than all the dear bought apparatus, which we collected for the purpoſe of deſtroying an enemy too wiſe and too ſwift to permit us to come in ſight of them; or, if determined to attack us, ſufficiently dexterous to make us feel before we ſaw them. We ſaid, however, that we conquered Pondiac, at which no doubt he ſmiled: for the truth of the matter was, the conduct of this war reſembled a protracted game of cheſs. He was as little able to take our forts without cannon, as

as we were able without the feet, the eyes, and the inſtinctive ſagacity of Indians, to trace them to their retreats. After delighting ourſelves for a long while with the manner in which we were to puniſh Pondiac's preſumption, "*could we but once catch him,*" all ended in our making a treaty, very honourable for him, and not very diſadvantageous to ourſelves. We gave both preſents and promiſes, and Pondiac gave—— permiſſion to the mothers of thoſe children who had been taken away from the frontier ſettlements to receive them back again, on condition of delivering up the Indian priſoners.

The joyful day when the congreſs was held for concluding peace I never ſhall forget. Another memorable day is engraven in indelible characters upon my memory. Madame, being deeply intereſted in the projected exchange, brought about a ſcheme for having it take place at Albany, which was more central than any other place, and where her influence among the Mohawks could be of uſe in

getting intelligence about the children, and ſending meſſages to thoſe who had adopted them, and who, by this time, were very unwilling to part with them. In the firſt place, becauſe they were grown very fond of them; and again, becauſe they thought the children would not be ſo happy in our manner of life, which appeared to them both conſtrained and effeminate. This exchange had a large retroſpect. For ten years back there had been every now and then, while theſe Indians were in the French intereſt, ravages upon the frontiers of the different provinces. In many inſtances theſe children had been ſnatched away while their parents were working in the fields, or after they were killed. A certain day was appointed, on which all who had loſt their children, or ſought thoſe of their relations, were to come to Albany in ſearch of them; where, on that day, all Indians poſſeſſed of white children were to preſent them. Poor women, who had travelled ſome hundred miles from the back ſettlements of Penſylvania and New England,

England, appeared here, with anxious looks and aching hearts, not knowing whether their children were alive, or how exactly to identify them if they ſhould meet them. I obſerved theſe apprehenſive and tender mothers were, though poor people, all dreſſed with peculiar neatneſs and attention, each wiſhing the firſt impreſſion her child ſhould receive of her might be a favourable one. On a gentle ſlope near the fort, ſtood a row of temporary huts, built by retainers to the troops: the green before theſe buildings was the ſcene of theſe pathetic recognitions; which I did not fail to attend. The joy of even the happy mothers was overpowering, and found vent in tears; but not like the bitter tears of thoſe who, after long travel, found not what they ſought. It was affecting to ſee the deep and ſilent ſorrow of the Indian women, and of the children, who knew no other mother, and clung fondly to their boſoms, from whence they were not torn without the moſt piercing ſhrieks; while their own fond mothers

were diſtreſſed beyond meaſure at the ſhyneſs and averſion with which theſe long loſt objects of their love received their careſſes. I ſhall never forget the groteſque figures and wild looks of theſe young ſavages; nor the trembling haſte with which their mothers arrayed them in the new clothes they had brought for them, as hoping that, with the Indian dreſs, they would throw off their habits and attachments. It was in ſhort a ſcene impoſſible to deſcribe, but moſt affecting to behold. Never was my good friend's conſiderate liberality and uſeful ſympathy more fully exerted than on this occaſion, which brought ſo many poor travellers from their diſtant homes on this pilgrimage to the ſhrine of nature. How many traders did ſhe perſuade to take them gratis in their boats! How many did ſhe feed and lodge! and in what various ways did ſhe ſerve or make others ſerve them all. No one indeed knew how to refuſe a requeſt of Aunt Schuyler, who never made one for herſelf.

CHAP. XXI.

Return of the 55th Regiment to Europe.—Privates ſent to Penſacola.

THE 55th now left their calm abodes amidſt their lakes and foreſts, with the joy of children breaking up from their ſchool; little aware that they were bidding adieu to quiet, plenty, and freedom, and utter ſtrangers to the world, into which they were about to plunge. They all came down to Albany. Captain Mungo Campbell was charmed to find me ſo familiar with his Milton; while I was equally charmed to find him a favourite with Aunt Schuyler, which was with me the criterion of merit. Colonel Duncan, for ſuch he was now, marched proudly at the head of his pupils, whom he had carried up raw youths, but brought back with all the manly and ſoldierly openneſs of manner and character that could be wiſhed, and with

minds greatly improved. Meanwhile Madame's counſels had ſo much influence on my father, that he began ſeriouſly to think of ſettling in America. To part with his beloved 55th was very trying; yet his proſpects of advantage in remaining among a people by whom he was eſteemed, and to whom he had really become attached, were very flattering; for by the aid of Aunt and the old inhabitants, and friendly Indians, who were at her powerful bidding, he could expect to get advantageouſly ſome lands which he, in common with other officers who ſerved in America, was entitled to. He, having a right to apply for the allotted quantity wherever he found it vacant, that is, in odd unoccupied places, between different patents, which it required much local knowledge of the country to diſcover, had greatly the advantage of ſtrangers; becauſe he could get information of thoſe ſecluded ſpots here and there that were truly valuable; whereas other officers belonging to regiments diſbanded in the country, either did not find it convenient

nient to go to the expence of taking out a patent and surveying the lands, and so sold their rights for a trifle to others; or else half a dozen went together, and made a choice, generally an injudicious one, of some large tract of ground, which would not have been so long unsolicited had it been of real value. My father bought the rights of two young officers who were in a hurry to go to Europe, and had not perhaps wherewithal to go through the necessary forms used to appropriate a particular spot, the expence of that process being considerable. Accordingly he became a consequential landholder, and had his half-pay to boot.

The 55th were now preparing to embark for that home which they regarded with enthusiasm; this extended to the lowest ranks, who were absolutely home-sick. They had, too, from the highest to the lowest, been enabled, from their unexpensive mode of living, to lay up some money. Never was there a body of men more uncorrupted and more attached to each other.

Military men contract a love of variety in their wandering manner of life, and always imagine they are to find ſome enjoyment in the next quarters that they have not had in this; ſo that the order for march is generally a joyful ſummons to the younger officers at leaſt. To theſe novices, who, when they thought the world of variety, glory, and preferment was open before them, were ordered up into the depth of unexplored foreſts, to be kept ſtationary for years together, without even the amuſement of a battle, it was ſufficiently diſappointing. Yet afterwards I have been told that, in all the changes to which this hapleſs regiment was ſubjected, they looked back on the years ſpent on the lakes as the happieſt of their lives.

My father parted with them with extreme regret, but he had paſſed the Rubicon; that is to ſay, taken out his patent, and ſtay he muſt. He went however to New York with them, and here a very unexpected ſcene opened. Many of the ſoldiers who had ſaved little ſums had depoſited them in my father's hands, and,

and, when he gave every one his own at New York, he had great pleaſure in ſeeing their exultation, and the purchaſes they were making. When, all of a ſudden, a thunderbolt burſt among theſe poor fellows, in the ſhape of an order to draft the greateſt part of them to Penſacola: to renew regiments who, placed on a bar of burning ſand, with a ſalt marſh before and a ſwamp behind were lingering out a wretched and precarious exiſtence, daily cut ſhort by diſeaſe in ſome new inſtance. Words are very inadequate to give an idea of the horror that pervaded this band of veterans. When this order was moſt unexpectedly read at the head of the regiment, it was worſe to moſt of them than a ſentence of immediate death: they were going to a diſmal and deteſted quarter, and they were going to become part of a regiment of no repute; whom they themſelves had held in the utmoſt contempt when they had formerly ſerved together. The officers were not a little affected by this cruel order, to part with brave well diſciplined men; who, by their ſingular good conduct,

and by the habits of ſharing with their officers in the chaſe, and in their agricultural amuſements, fiſhing-parties, &c., had acquired a kindly nearneſs to them not uſually ſubſiſting between thoſe who command and they who muſt implicitly obey. What ties were broke! what hopes were blaſted by this fatal order! Theſe ſad exiles embarked for Penſacola at the ſame time that their comrades ſet out for Ireland. My father returned, ſunk in the deepeſt ſadneſs, which was increaſed by our place of abode: for we had removed to the forſaken fort, where there was no creature but ourſelves and three or four ſoldiers who choſe to ſtay in the country, and for whom my father had procured their diſcharge.

I was in the mean time more intimate than ever at Aunt Schuyler's; attracted not only by her kindneſs, but my admiration for Mrs. Cuyler, and attachment for her lovely little girl. The huſband of the former was now returned from his Weſt India voyage, and they retired to a houſe of their own, meaning to ſucceed to that buſineſs which the

the mayor, now wealthy and infirm, was quitting. Cortlandt Schuyler, the general's brother, and his ſprightly agreeable wife, were now, as well as the couple formerly mentioned, frequent viſitors at Aunt's, and made a very pleaſing addition to her familiar circle. I began to be conſidered as almoſt a child of the family, and Madame took much pains in inſtructing me, hoping that I would continue attached to her, and knowing that my parents were much flattered by her kindneſs, and fully conſcious of the advantages I derived from it. With her aid my father's plan of proceeding was fully digeſted. He was to ſurvey and *locate* his lands, (that was the phraſe uſed for ſuch tranſactions,) and at leiſure (as the price of lands was daily riſing,) to let them out on leaſe. He was to reſerve a good farm for himſelf, but not to reſide upon it till the lands around it were cultivated; and ſo many ſettlers gone up as would make the diſtrict in a degree civiliſed and populous; a change which was like to take place very rapidly, as there were daily emigrations to that neighbourhood, which

was

was become a favourite rallying point, on account of a flouriſhing and ſingularly well conducted ſettlement which I have already mentioned, under the auſpices of Colonel Schuyler in this quarter.

CHAP. XXII.

A new Property.—Viſionary Plans.

My father went up in ſummer with a retinue of Indians, and diſbanded ſoldiers, &c. headed by a land-ſurveyor. In that country, men of this deſcription formed an important and diſtinct profeſſion. They were provided with an apparatus of meaſuring-chains, tents, and proviſion. It was upon the whole an expenſive expedition; but this was the leſs to be regretted as the object proved fully adequate. Never was a *location* more fertile or more valuable, nor the poſſeſſor of an eſtate more elated with his acquiſition: a beautiful ſtream paſſed through the midſt of the property; beyond its limits on one ſide roſe a lofty eminence covered with tall cedar, which being included in no patent, would be a common good, and offered an inexhauſtible ſupply of timber and firing after the lands ſhould be entirely cleared. This ſylvan ſcene appeared, even in its wild ſtate, to poſſeſs ſingular

gular advantages: it was dry lying land without the leaſt particle of ſwamp, great part of it was covered with cheſnuts, the ſure indication of good wheat land, and the reſt with white oak, the never-failing forerunner of good Indian corn and paſture. The ground, at the time of the ſurvey, was in a great meaſure covered with ſtrawberries, the ſure ſign of fertility. And better and better ſtill, there was, on a conſiderable ſtream which watered this region of benediction, a beaver-dam, that was viſibly of at leaſt fifty years ſtanding. What particular addition our overflowing felicity was to derive from the neighbourhood of theſe ſagacious builders, may not be eaſily conjectured. It was not their ſociety, for they were much too wiſe to remain in our vicinity, nor yet their example, which, though a very good one, we were ſcarce wiſe enough to follow. Why then did we ſo much rejoice over the dwelling of theſe old ſettlers? Merely becauſe their induſtry had ſaved us much trouble: for, in the courſe of their labours, they had cleared above thirty acres of excellent hay-land; work

which

which we ſhould take a long time to execute, and not perform near ſo well; the truth was, this induſtrious colony, by whoſe previous labour we were thus to profit, were already extirpated, to my unſpeakable ſorrow, who had been creating a *beaver* Utopia ever ſince I heard of the circumſtance. The protection I was to afford them, the acquaintance I was to make with them, after conquering the firſt ſhyneſs, and the delight I was to have in ſeeing them work, after convincing them of their ſafety, occupied my whole attention, and helped to conſole me for the drafting of the 55th, which I had been ever ſince lamenting. How buoyant is the fancy of childhood! I was mortified to the utmoſt to hear there were no beavers remaining; yet the charming, though ſimple deſcription my father gave us of this "vale of bliſs," which the beavers had partly cleared, and the whole "Townſhip of Clarendon," (ſo was the new laid out territory called,) conſoled me for all paſt diſappointments. It is to be obſerved that the political and economical regulations of the beavers make their neighbourhood very deſirable

firable to new ſettlers. They build houſes and dams with unwearied induſtry, as every one that has heard of them muſt needs know; but their unconquerable attachment to a particular ſpot is not ſo well known; the conſequence is, that they work more, and of courſe clear more land in ſome ſituations than in others. When they happen to pitch upon a ſtream that overflows often in ſpring, it is apt to carry away the dam, formed of large trees laid acroſs the ſtream, which it has coſt them unſpeakable pains to cut down and bring there. Whenever theſe are deſtroyed they cut down more trees and conſtruct another; and, as they live all winter on the tender twigs from the underwood and bark which they ſtrip from poplar and alder, they ſoon clear theſe alſo from the vicinity. In the day-time they either mend their houſes, lay up ſtores in them, or fiſh, ſitting upon their dams made for that purpoſe. The night they employ in cutting down trees, which they always do ſo as to make them fall towards the ſtream, or in dragging them to the dam. Meanwhile they have always centinels placed near

near to give the alarm, in case of any intrusion. It is hard to say when these indefatigable animals refresh themselves with sleep. I have seen those that have been taken young and made very tame, so that they followed their owner about; even in these the instinct which prompts their nocturnal labours was apparent. Whenever all was quiet they began to work. Being discontented and restless, if confined, it was usual to leave them in the yard. They seemed in their civilised, or rather degraded state, to retain an idea that it was necessary to convey materials for building to their wonted habitation. The consequence was, that a single one would carry such quantites of wood to the back-door, that you would find your way blocked up in the morning to a degree almost incredible.

Being very much inclined to be happy, and abundant in resources, the simple felicity which was at some future period to prevail among the amiable and innocent tenants we were to have at Clarendon, filled my whole mind. Before this flattering vision, all painful recollections, and even all the violent

violent love which I had perſuaded myſelf to feel for my native Britain, entirely vaniſhed.

The only thing that diſturbed me, was Aunt Schuyler's age, and the thoughts of outliving her, which ſometimes obtruded among my day dreams of more than mortal happineſs. I thought all this could ſcarce admit of addition; yet a new ſource of joy was opened, when I found that we were actually going to live at the Flats. That ſpot, rendered ſacred by the reſidence of Aunt, where I ſhould trace her ſteps wherever I moved, dwell under the ſhadow of her trees, and, in ſhort, find her in every thing I ſaw. We did not aſpire to ſerious farming, reſerving that effort for our own eſtate, of which we talked very magnificently, and indeed had ſome reaſon, it being as valuable as ſo much land could be; and from its ſituation in a part of the country which was hourly acquiring freſh inhabitants, its value daily increaſed, which conſideration induced my father to refuſe ſeveral offers for it; reſolved either to people it with Highland emigrants, or retain it in his own hands till he ſhould get his price.

Sir

Sir Henry Moore, the laſt Britiſh governor of New York that I remember, came up this ſummer to ſee Albany, and the ornament of Albany—Aunt Schuyler; he brought Lady Moore and his daughter with him. They reſided for ſome time at General Schuyler's, I call him ſo by anticipation; for ſure I am, had any gifted ſeer foretold then what was to happen, he would have been ready to anſwer, "Is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this thing." Sir Harry, like many of his predeceſſors, was a mere ſhew governor, and old Cadwallader Colden, the lieutenant governor, continued to do the buſineſs, and enjoy the power in its moſt eſſential branches, ſuch as giving patents for lands, &c. Sir Harry, in the mean time, had never thought of buſineſs in his life; he was honourable as far as a man could be ſo, who always ſpent more than he had; he was, however, gay, good natured, and well bred, affable and courteous in a very high degree, and if the buſineſs of a governor was merely to keep the governed in good humour, no one was fitter for that office than he, the more ſo, as

he had ſenſe enough to know two things of great importance to be known: one was, that a perſon of tried wiſdom and good experience like Colden, was fitter to tranſact the buſineſs of the province, than any dependant of his own: the other, that he was totally unfit to manage it himſelf. The government houſe was the ſcene of frequent feſtivities and weekly concerts, Sir Henry being very muſical, and Lady Moore peculiarly fitted for doing the honours of a drawing-room or entertainment. They were too faſhionable, and too much hurried to find time for particular friendſhips, and too good natured and well bred to make invidious diſtinctions, ſo that, without gaining very much either of eſteem or affection, they pleaſed every one in the circle around them; and this general civility of theirs, in the ſtorm which was about to ariſe, had its uſe. In the beginning, before the tempeſt broke looſe in all its fury, it was like oil poured on agitated waters, which produces a temporary calm immediately round the ſhip. As yet the ſtorm only muttered at a diſtance, but Madame was diſturbed by anxious preſages. In her caſe,

" Old experience actually did attain
" To something like prophetic ſtrain."

But it was not new to her to prophecy in vain. I for my part, was charmed with the manners of theſe exalted viſitors of Aunts, and not a little proud of their attention to her, not knowing that they ſhewed pretty much the ſame attention to every one.

While I was dancing on air with the thoughts of going to live at the Flats, of the beauties of Clarendon, and many other delights which I had created to myſelf, an event took place that plunged us all in ſorrow; it was the death of the lovely child Catalina, who was the object of much fondneſs to us all, for my parents, bating the allowance to be made for enthuſiaſm, were as fond of her as I was; Madame had ſet her heart very much on this engaging creature; ſhe muſtered up all her fortitude to ſupport the parents of her departed favourite, but ſuffered much notwithſtanding. Here began my acquaintance with ſorrow. We went, however, to the Flats in autumn. Our family conſiſted of a negro girl, and a ſoldier, who had followed my father's

fortunes from Scotland, and ſtuck to him through every change. We did not mean to farm, but had merely the garden, orchard, and encloſure for hay, two cows, a horſe for my father, and a colt, which, to my great delight, was given me as a preſent. Many ſources of comfort and amuſement were now cut off from Madame, her nephew and his lively and accompliſhed wife had left her, Dr. Ogilvie was removed to New York, and had a ſucceſſor no way calculated to ſupply his place. This year ſhe had loſt her bróther-in-law Cornelius Cuyler,* whoſe ſound ſenſe

* This eſtimable character had for the ſpace of forty years (which included very important and critical conjunctures) been chief magiſtrate of Albany, and its diſtrict. A ſituation calculated to demand the utmoſt integrity and impartiality, and to exerciſe all the powers of a mind, acute, vigilant, and comprehenſive. The leſs he was amenable to the controul and direction of his ſuperiors, the more liable was he to the animadverſions of his fellow citizens, had he in the leaſt departed from that rectitude which made him the object of their confidence and veneration. He adminiſtered juſtice, not ſo much in conformity to written laws, as to that rule of equity within his own breaſt, the application of which was directed by ſound ſenſe, improved by experience. I do by means inſinuate, that he either neglected or diſobeyed thoſe laws, by which,

ſenſe and intelligence made his ſociety of conſequence to her, independant of the great eſteem and affection ſhe had for him. The army, among whom ſhe always found perſons of information and good breeding, in whoſe converſation ſhe could take pleaſure which might be truly called ſuch, were gone. Nothing could compenſate, in her opinion, for the privation of that enjoyment; ſhe read, but then the people about her had ſo little taſte for reading, that ſhe had not her wonted pleaſure in that, for want of ſome one with whom ſhe could diſcuſs the topics ſuggeſted by her ſtudies. It was in this poverty of ſociety ſuch as ſhe was accuſtomed to enjoy, that ſhe took a fancy to converſe much with me, to regret my want of

which, in all doubtful caſes, he was certainly guided; but that the uncorrupted ſtate of public morals, and the entire confidence which his fellow-citizens repoſed in his probity, rendered appeals to the law, for the moſt part, ſuperfluous. I have heard that the family of the Cuylers was originally a German one of high rank. Whether this can or cannot be aſcertained, is of little conſequence. The ſterling worth of their immediate anceſtor, and his long and faithful ſervices to the Public, reflect more honour on his deſcendants than any length of pedigree.

education, and to take a particular intereſt in my employments and mental improvement. That I might more entirely profit by her attention, ſhe requeſted my parents to let me paſs the winter with her; this invitation they gladly complied with.

The winter at the Flats was ſufficiently melancholy, and rendered leſs agreeable by ſome unpleaſant neighbours we had. Theſe were a family from New England, who had been preparing to occupy lands near thoſe occupied by my father. They had been the ſummer before recommended to Aunt's generous humanity, as honeſt people, who merely wanted a ſhelter in a room in her empty houſe, till they ſhould build a temporary hut on thoſe new lands which they were about to inhabit. When we came, the time permitted to them had long elapſed, but my father, who was exceedingly humane, indulged them with a fortnight more after our arrival, on the pretence of the ſickneſs of a child; and there they ſat, and would not remove for the winter, unleſs coercion had been uſed for that purpoſe. We lived on the road ſide; there was at

that

that time a perpetual emigration going on from the provinces of New England to our back ſettlements. Our acquaintance with the family who kept poſſeſſion beſide us, and with many of even the better ſort, who came to bargain with my father about his lands, gave us more inſight than we wiſhed into the prevalent character of thoſe people, whom we found conceited, litigious, and ſelfiſh beyond meaſure. My father was told that the only ſafe way to avoid being over-reached by them in a bargain, was to give them a kind of tacit permiſſion to ſit down on his lands, and take his chance of ſettling with them when they were brought into ſome degree of cultivation; for if one did bargain with them, the cuſtom was to have it three years free for clearing, at the end of which, the rents or purchaſe money was paid. By that time, any perſon who had expended much labour on land, would rather pay a reaſonable price or rent for it, than be removed.

In the progreſs of his intercourſe with theſe very vulgar, inſolent, and truly diſ-agreeable people, my father began to diſ-

reliſh the thoughts of going up to live among them. They flocked indeed ſo faſt, to every unoccupied ſpot, that their malignant and envious ſpirit, their hatred of ſubordination, and their indifference to the mother country, begun to ſpread like a taint of infection.

Theſe illiberal opinions, which produced manners equally illiberal, were particularly wounding to diſbanded officers, and to the real patriots, who had conſulted in former times the happineſs of the country, by giving their zealous co-operation to the troops ſent to protect it. Theſe two claſſes of people begun now to be branded as the ſlaves of arbitrary power, and all tendencies to elegance or refinement were deſpiſed as leading to ariſtocracy. The conſequence of all this was, ſuch an oppoſition of opinions, as led people of the former deſcription to ſeek each others ſociety excluſively. Winter was the only time that diſtant friends met there, and to avoid the chagrin reſulting from this diſtempered ſtate of ſociety, veterans ſettled in the country were too apt to devote themſelves to ſhooting and fiſhing,

taking

taking refuge from langour in these solitary amusements.

We had one brave and loyal neighbour, however, who saw us often, and was "every inch a gentleman;" this was Pedrom, Aunt's brother-in-law, in whom lived the spirit of the Schuylers, and who was our next neighbour and cordial friend. He was now old, detached from the world, and too hard of hearing, to be an easy companion; yet he had much various information, and was endeared to us by similarity of principle.

Matters were beginning to be in this state the first winter I went to live with Aunt. Her friends were much dispersed; all conversation was tainted with politics, Cromwellian politics too, which of all things, she disliked. Her nephew, Cortlandt Schuyler, who had been a great Nimrod ever since he could carry a gun, and who was a man of strict honour and nice feelings, took such a melancholy view of things, and so little relished that Stamp Act, which was the exclusive subject of all conversation, that he devoted himself more and more to the chace, and seemed entirely to renounce

a ſociety which he had never greatly loved. As I ſhall not refer to him again, I ſhall only mention here, that this eſtimable perſon was taken away from the evil to come two years after, by a premature death, being killed by a fall from his horſe in hunting. What ſorrows were hid from his eyes by this timely eſcape from ſcenes, which would have been to him peculiarly wounding!

If Madame's comforts in ſociety were diminiſhed, her domeſtic ſatisfactions were not leſs ſo. By the time I came to live with her, Mariamat and Dianamat were almoſt ſuperannuated, and had loſt, in a great meaſure, the reſtraining power they uſed to exerciſe over their reſpective offspring. Their woolly heads were ſnow white, and they were become ſo feeble, that they ſat each in her great chair, at the oppoſite ſide of the fire; their wonted jealouſy was now embittered to rancour, and their love of tobacco greater than ever. They were arrived at that happy period of eaſe and indolence, which left them at full liberty to ſmoak and ſcold the whole day long; this they did with ſuch unwearied perſeverance, and in a manner

manner ſo ludicrous, that to us young people they were a perpetual comedy.

Sorely now did Aunt lament the promiſe ſhe had kept ſo faithfully, never to ſell any of the Colonel's negroes. There was ſo little to do for fourteen perſons, except the buſineſs they created for each other, and it was ſo impoſſible to keep them from too freely ſharing the plenty of her liberal houſe, that idleneſs and abundance literally began to corrupt them.

All theſe privations and uneaſineſſes will in ſome meaſure account for ſuch a perſon as Madame taking ſuch pleaſure in the ſociety of an overgrown child. But then ſhe was glad to eſcape from dark proſpects and croſs politics, to the amuſement derived from the innocent chearfulneſs natural to that time of life. A paſſion for reading, and a very comprehenſive memory too, had furniſhed my mind with more variety of knowledge, than fell to the lot of thoſe, who living in large families, and ſharing the amuſements of childhood, were not, like me, driven to that only reſource. All this will help to account for a degree of confidence and favour, daily encreaſing, which ended

in my being admitted to ſleep in a little bed beſide her, which never happened to any other. In the winter nights, our converſations often encroached on the earlier hours of morning. The future appeared to her dubious and chearleſs, which was one reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that her active mind turned ſolely on retroſpection. She ſaw that I liſtened with delighted attention to the tales of other times, which no one could recount ſo well. Theſe, too, were doubly intereſting, as, like the *ſociable angel*'s converſation with our firſt father, they related to the origin and formation of all I ſaw around me; they afforded food for reflection, to which I was very early addicted, and hourly increaſed my veneration for her whom I already conſidered as my polar ſtar. The great love I had for her firſt gave intereſt to her details; and again, the nature of theſe details increaſed my eſteem for the narrator. Thus paſſed this winter of felicity, which ſo much enlarged my ſtock of ideas, that in looking back upon it, I thought I had lived three years in one.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Return to the Flats.

SUMMER came, and with it viſitors, as uſual, to Madame from New York and other places; among whom, I remember, were her nieces Mrs. L. and Mrs. C. I went to the Flats, and was, as uſual, kept very cloſe to my needle-work; but though there was no variety to amuſe me, ſummer flid by very faſt. My mind was continually occupied with Aunt, and all the paſſages of her life. My greateſt pleaſure was to read over again the books I had read to her, and recollect her obſervations upon them. I often got up and went out to the door to look at places where particular things had happened. She ſpent the winter's nights in retroſpections of her paſt life; and I ſpent the ſummer days in retroſpections of theſe winter nights. But theſe were not my only pleaſures. The banks of

the river and the oppoſite ſcenery delighted me; and, adopting all Aunt's taſtes and attachments, I made myſelf believe I was very fond of Pedroni and Suſanna Muet, as the widow of Jeremiah was called. My attention to them excited their kindneſs; and the borrowed ſentiment, on my part, ſoon became a real one. Theſe old friends were very amuſing. But then I had numberleſs young friends, who ſhared my attention, and were in their own way very amuſing too. Theſe were the objects of my earlieſt cares in the morning, and my needleſs ſolicitude all day. I had marked down in a liſt between thirty and forty neſts of various kinds of birds. It was an extreme dry ſummer; and I ſaw the parent birds, whom I diligently watched, often panting with heat, and, as I thought, fatigued. After all I had heard and ſeen of Aunt, I thought it incumbent on me to be good and kind to ſome being that needed my aſſiſtance. To my fellow-creatures my power did not extend; therefore I wiſely reſolved to adapt my mode of beneficence

to

to the ſphere of action aſſigned to me, and decided upon the judicious ſcheme of aſſiſting all theſe birds to feed their young. My confederate Marian, (our negroe girl,) entered heartily into this plan; and it was the buſineſs of the morning, before taſks commenced, to ſlaughter innumerable inſects, and gather quantities of cherries and other fruit for that purpoſe, Portions of this proviſion we laid beſide every neſt, and then applauded ourſelves for ſaving the poor birds fatigue. This, from a purſuit, became a paſſion. Every ſpare moment was devoted to it, and every hour made new diſcoveries of the nature and habits of our winged friends, which we conſidered as amply recompenſing our labours.

The moſt eager ſtudent of natural philoſophy could not be more attentive to thoſe objects, or more intent on making diſcoveries. One ſad diſcovery we made, that mortified us exceedingly. The mocking-bird is very ſcarce and very ſhy in this northern diſtrict. A pair came, however,

to our inexpreſſible delight, and built a neſt in a very high tree in our garden. Never was joy like ours. At the imminent riſk of our necks we made ſhift to aſcend to this lofty dwelling during the abſence of the owners; birds we found none; but three eggs of a colour ſo equivocal, that, deciding the point whether they were green or blue, furniſhed matter of debate for the reſt of the day. To ſee theſe treaſures was delightful, and to refrain from touching them impoſſible. One of the young we reſolved to appropriate, contrary to our general humane procedure; and the next weighty affair to be diſcuſſed, was the form and ſize of the cage which was to contain this embryo warbler. The parents, however, arrived. On examining the premiſes, by ſome myſterious mode of their own, they diſcovered that their ſecret had been explored, and that profane hands had touched the objects of all their tenderneſs. Their plaintive cries we too well underſtood. That whole evening and all the next day they were buſied in the orchard; while

their

their loud lamentations, conſtantly reiterated, pierced us with remorſe. We ſoon ſaw the garden next forſaken; and a little further examination ſoon convinced us, that the violated eggs had been tranſported to another, where, however, they were not hatched; the delicate inſtincts, which directed theſe creatures to form a new neſt, and carry off their eggs, on finding they had been handled, did not, at the ſame time, inform them, that eggs carried away, and ſhaken by that motion during the proceſs of incubation, cannot produce any thing.

The great barn, which I formerly deſcribed, afforded ſcope for our obſervations of this nature; and here we remarked a phænomenon, that I am ſtill at a loſs to account for. In the higheſt part of that ſpacious and lofty roof, multitudes of ſwallows, of the martin ſpecies, made their neſts. Theſe were conſtructed of mud or clay as uſual, and, in the ordinary courſe of things, laſted, with ſome repairs, from year to year. This ſummer, however, being unuſually hot and dry, the neſts, in great numbers, cracked and fell down on the floor, with the young

ones

ones in them. We often found them in this ſituation, but always found the birds in them alive and unhurt; and ſaw the old ones come to feed them on the floor, which they did with ſuch eager confidence, that they often bruſhed ſo near as to touch us. Now we could no other way account for the neſts always coming down with the birds unhurt in them, but by ſuppoſing that the ſwallows watched the fracture of the neſts, and when they ſaw them about to fall, came round the deſcending fabric, and kept it in a kind of equilibrium. Of theſe birds we ſtood in ſuch profound awe, that we never profited by the accident which put them in our power; we would not indeed, for any conſideration, have touched them, eſpecially after the ſad adventure of the mocking-bird, which hung very heavy upon our conſciences. Autumn came, and Aunt came at the appointed day, the anniverſary of his death, to viſit the tomb of her beloved conſort. This ceremony always took place at that time. She concluded it with a viſit to us, and an earneſt requeſt for my returning with her, and remaining the winter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Melancholy Preſages.—Turbulence of the People.

THE converſations between my father and aunt aſſumed a melancholy caſt. Their hopes of a golden age in that country (now that the flames of war were entirely quenched) grew weaker. The repeal of the Stamp Act occaſioned exceſſive joy, but produced little gratitude. The youth of the town, before that news arrived, had abandoned their wonted ſports, and begun to amuſe themſelves with breaking the windows and deſtroying the furniture of two or three different people, who had, in ſucceſſion, been ſuſpected of being ſtamp-maſters in embryo. My father grew fonder than ever of fiſhing and ſhooting, becauſe birds and fiſh did not talk of tyranny or taxes. Sometimes we were refreſhed by a viſit from ſome of Aunt's nephews, the ſons of the mayor. They always left us in great good humour,

for

for they ſpoke reſpectfully of our dear King, and dearer country. But this ſunſhine was tranſient; they were ſoon ſucceeded by Obadiah or Zephaniah, from Hampſhire or Connecticut, who came in without knocking; ſat down without invitation; and lighted their pipe without ceremony; then talked of buying land; and, finally, began a diſcourſe on politics, which would have done honour to Praiſe God Barebones, or any of the members of his parliament. What is very ſingular is, that though the plain-ſpoken and manly natives of our ſettlement had a general diſlike to the character of theſe litigious aud loquacious pretenders, ſuch are the inconſiſtencies into which people are led by party, that they inſenſibly adopted many of their notions. With Madame I was quite free from this plague. None of that choſen race ever entered her door. She valued time too much to devote it to a ſet of people whom ſhe conſidered as greatly wanting in ſincerity. I ſpeak now of the Hampſhire and Connecticut people. In towns and at ſea-ports the old leaven had

had given way to that liberality which was produced by a better education, and an intercourſe with ſtrangers. Much as aunt's loyal and patriotic feelings were hurt by the new mode of talking which prevailed, her benevolence was not cooled, nor her mode of living changed.

I continued to grow in favour with Aunt this winter; for the beſt poſſible reaſons, I was the only one of the family that would ſit ſtill with her. The young people in the houſe were by no means congenial with her; and each had a love affair in hand faſt ripening into matrimony, that took up all their thoughts. Mr. H. our chaplain, was plauſible, but ſuperficial, vain, and ambitious. He too was buſied in hatching a project of another kind. On pretence of ſtudy, he ſoon retired to his room after meals, dreading no doubt that aunt might be in poſſeſſion of Ithuriel's ſpear, or to ſpeak without a figure, might either fathom his ſhallowneſs or detect his project. One of theſe diſcoveries he knew would ſink him in her opinion, and the other

other exclude him from her houſe. For my own part, I was always puzzling myſelf to conſider, why I did not more love and reverence Mr. H., who I took it for granted muſt needs be good, wiſe, and learned; for I thought a clergyman was all but inſpired. Thus thinking, I wondered why I did not feel for Mr. H what I felt for aunt in ſome degree; but unfortunately Mr. H. was a true bred native of Connecticut, which perhaps helped more than any intuitive penetration into character, to prevent any exceſs of veneration. Aunt and I read Burnet's memoirs and ſome biography this winter, and talked at leaſt over much geography and natural hiſtory. Here indeed, I was in ſome degree obliged to Mr. H.; I mean for a few leſſons on the globe. He had too an edition of Shakeſpeare. I have been trying but in vain to recollect what aunt ſaid of this. Not much certainly, but ſhe was much pleaſed with the Eſſay on Man, &c. Yet I ſomehow underſtood that Shakeſpeare was an admired author, and was not a little mortified when I found myſelf

ſelf unable to appreciate his merits. I ſuppoſe my taſte had been vitiated by bombaſt tragedies I had read at Colonel E.'s. I thought them groſsly familiar, and very inferior to Cato, whom aunt had taught me to admire; in ſhort I was ignorant, and becauſe I could read Milton, did not know my own ignorance. I did not expect to meet nature in a play, and therefore did not recognize her. 'Tis not to be conceived how I puzzled over Hamlet, or how his aſſumed madneſs and abuſe of Ophelia confounded me. Othello's jealouſy, and the manner in which he expreſſed it, were quite beyond my comprehenſion.

I mention theſe things as a warning to other young people not to admire by rote, but to wait the unfolding of their own taſte, if they would derive real pleaſure from the works of genius. I rather imagine I was afraid Aunt would think I devoted too much time to what I then conſidered as a *trifling book*. For I remember reading Hamlet the third or fourth time, in a froſty night, by moonlight, in the

back

back porch. This reiterated perusal was not in consequence of any great pleasure it afforded me; but I was studiously labouring to discover the excellence I thought it must needs contain; yet with more diligence than success. Madame was at this time, I imagine, foreseeing a storm, and trying to withdraw her mind as much as possible from earthly objects.

Forty years before this period, a sister of the deceased colonel had married a very worthy man of the name of Wendell. He being a person of an active enterprizing disposition, and possessing more portable wealth than usually fell to the share of the natives there, was induced to join some great commercial company near Boston, and settled there. He was highly prosperous and much beloved, and for a while cultivated a constant commerce with the friends he left behind. When he died, however, his wife, who was a meek benevolent woman, without distrust, and a stranger to business, was very ill-treated: her sons, who had been married in the country, died. Their connexions

nexions ſecured the family property for their children. In the primitive days of New York, a marriage ſettlement was an unheard-of thing. Far from her native home, having out-lived her friends, helpleſs and uncomplaining, this good woman, who had lived all her days in the midſt of deſerved affluence and affection, was now ſtripped by chicanery of all her rights, and ſinking into poverty without a friend or comforter. Aunt, immediately upon hearing this, ſet on foot a negociation to get Mrs. Wendell's affairs regulated, ſo that ſhe might have the means of living with comfort in a country in which long reſidence had naturalized her; or that failing, to bring her home to reſide with herſelf. Perhaps in the whole courſe of her life, ſhe had not experienced ſo much of the depravity of human nature as this enquiry unfolded to her. The negociation, however, cheered and buſied her at a time when ſhe greatly needed ſome exertion of mind to check the current of thought produced by the rapid and aſtoniſhing change of manners and ſentiments around her. But in

our province there were two claſſes of people who abſolutely ſeemed let looſe by the dæmon of diſcord, for the deſtruction of public peace and private confidence. One of theſe was compoſed of lawyers, who multiplied ſo faſt that one would think they roſe like muſhrooms from the earth. For many years one lawyer was ſufficient for the whole ſettlement. But the ſwarm of theſe, which had made ſo ſudden and portentous an appearance, had been encouraged to chuſe that profeſſion, becauſe a wide field was open for future contention, merely from the candour and ſimplicity of the laſt generation.

Not in the leaſt diſtruſting each other, nor aware of the ſudden riſe of the value of lands, theſe primitive coloniſts got large grants from government, to encourage their efforts in the early ſtages of cultivation; theſe lands being firſt purchaſed, for ſome petty conſideration, from the Indians, who alone knew the land marks of that illimitable foreſt.

The boundaries of ſuch large grants when afterwards confirmed by government, were,

were diſtinguiſhed by the terms uſed by the Indians, who pointed them out; and very exraordinary marks they were. For inſtance, one that I recollect. "We exchange with our brother Cornelius Renſelaer for ſo many ſtrouds, guns, &c. the lands beginning at the beaver creek, going on northward, to the great fallen plane tree, where our tribe ſlept laſt ſummer; then eaſtward, to the three great cedars on the hillock; then weſtward, ſtrait to the wild duck ſwamp; and ſtrait on from the ſwamp to the turn in the beaver creek where the old dam was."

Such are the boundaries ſeriouſly deſcribed in this manner, in one of the earlieſt patents. The only mode, then exiſting, of fixing thoſe vague limits was to mark large trees which grew at the corners of the property, with the owner's name deeply cut, along with the date of the patent, &c. after blazing, that is to ſay, cutting deeply into the tree, for a plain ſpace to hold this inſcription.

In this primitive manner were all the eſtates in the province bounded. Towards the ſea this did very well, as the patents, in a manner, bounded each other; and every one took care to prevent the incroachments of his neighbour. But in the interior, people took great ſtretches of land here and there, where there were not patented lands adjoining; there being no continuity of fertile ground except on the banks of ſtreams. The only ſecurity the public had againſt theſe trees being cut down, or others at a greater diſtance marked in their ſtead, was a law which made ſuch attempts penal. This was a very nugatory threat; it being impoſſible to prove ſuch an offence. Crimes of this nature encroaching on the property of individuals, I believe, rarely happened: but to enlarge one's boundary, by taking in a little of King George's ground, to uſe a provincial phraſe, was conſidered as no great harm; and, beſides, many poſſeſſed extenſive tracts of land unqueſtioned, merely on the ſtrength of Indian grants unſanctioned by government. One in particular, the proudeſt

proudeſt man I ever knew, had a law-ſuit with the King, for more land than would form a German principality. Now that the inundation of litigious new ſettlers, from Maſſachuſet's bounds, had awaked the ſpirit of enquiry, to call it no worſe, every day produced a freſh law-ſuit, and all of the ſame nature, about aſcertaining boundaries. In one inſtance, where a gentleman was ſuppoſed to be unfairly poſſeſſed of a vaſt tract of fine land, a confederacy of Britiſh officers, I muſt confeſs, queſtioned his right; applying before hand for a grant of ſuch lands as they could prove the poſſeſſor entitled to; and contributing among them a ſum of money to carry on this great law-ſuit, which having been given againſt them in the province, they appealed to the Board of Trade and Plantations at home. Here the uncertainty of the law was very glorious indeed; and hence, from the gainful proſpect opening before them ſwarms of petulent half-educated young men, ſtarted one knew not whence. And as theſe great law-ſuits were matter of general concern,

no one knowing whose turn might be next, all converſation begun to be infected with litigious cant; and every thing ſeemed unſtable and perplexed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Settlers of a new Deſcription.—Madame's Chaplain.

ANOTHER claſs of people contributed their ſhare to deſtroy the quiet and order of the country. While the great army, that had now returned to Britain, had been ſtationed in America, the money they ſpent there, had, in a great meaſure, centered in New York, where many ephemeral adventurers begun to flouriſh as merchants, who lived in a gay and even profuſe ſtyle, and affected the language and manners of the army on which they depended. Elated with ſudden proſperity, thoſe people attempted every thing that could increaſe their gains; and, finally, at the commencement of the Spaniſh war, fitted out ſeveral privateers, which, being ſent to cruiſe near the mouth of the Gulph of Florida, captured ſeveral valuable prizes. Money ſo eaſily got was as lightly ſpent, and proved

indeed ruinous to thoſe who ſhared it; they being thus led to indulge in expenſive habits, which continued after the means that ſupplied them were exhauſted. At the departure of the army trade languiſhed among theſe new people; their Britiſh creditors grew clamorous; the primitive inhabitants looked cold upon them; and nothing remained for them but that ſelf-baniſhment, which, in that country, was the uſual conſequence of extravagance and folly, a retreat to the woods. Yet, even in theſe primæval ſhades, there was no repoſe for the vain and the turbulent. It was truly amuſing to ſee thoſe cargoes of ruſticated fine ladies and gentlemen going to their new abodes, all laſſitude and chagrin; and very ſoon after, to hear of their attempts at finery, conſequence, and pre-eminence, in the late invaded reſidence of bears and beavers. There, no paſtoral tranquillity, no ſylvan delights awaited them. In this forced retreat to the woods they failed not to carry with them thoſe houſehold gods whom they had worſhipped in town; the

pious

pious Eneas was not more careful of his Penates, nor more deſirous of eſtabliſhing them in his new reſidence. Theſe are the perſons of deſperate circumſtances, expenſive habits, and ambitious views; who, like the "tempeſt-loving raven," delight in changes, and anticipate, with guilty joy, the overturn of ſtates in which they have nothing to loſe, and have hopes of riſing on the ruins of others. The lawyers, too, foreſaw that the harveſt they were now reaping from the new mode of inquiry into diſputed titles, could not be of long duration. They did not lay a regular plan for the ſubverſion of the exiſting order of things; but they infected the once plain and primitive converſation of the people with law jargon, which ſpread like a diſeaſe, and was the more fatal to elegance, ſimplicity, and candour, as there were no rival branches of ſcience, the cultivation of which might have divided people's attention with this dry contentious theme.

The ſpirit of litigation, which narrowed and heated every mind, was a great nui-

fance to Madame, who took care not to be much troubled with it in converſation, becauſe ſhe diſcountenanced it at her table, where, indeed, no petulant upſtarts were received. She was, however, perſecuted with daily references to her recollections with regard to the traditionary opinions relative to boundaries, &c. While ſhe ſought refuge in the peaceable precincts of the goſpel, from the tumultuous conteſts of the law, which ſhe always ſpoke of with diſlike, ſhe was little aware that a deſerter from her own camp was about to join the enemy. Mr. H. our chaplain, became, about this time, very reſerved and abſent; law and politics were no favourite topics in our houſehold, and theſe alone ſeemed much to intereſt our divine. Many thought Aunt was impoſed on by this young man, and took him to be what he was not; but this was by no means the caſe. She neither thought him a wit, a ſcholar, or a ſaint; but merely a young man, who, to very good intentions and a blameleſs life, added the advantages of a better education

than

than fell to the lot of laymen there; ſimplicity of manners, and ſome powers of converſation, with a little daſh of the coxcomb, rendered tolerable by great good nature.

Vanity, however, was the rock on which our chaplain ſplit; he found himſelf, among the circle he frequented, the one-eyed king in the kingdom of the blind; and thought it a pity ſuch talents ſhould be loſt in a profeſſion where, in his view of the ſubject, bread and peace were all that was to be expected. The firſt intelligence I heard was, that Mr. H., on ſome pretence or other, often went to the neighbouring town of Schenactady, now riſing into conſequence, and there openly renounced his profeſſion, and took out a licence as a practiſing lawyer. It is eaſy to conjecture how Madame muſt have conſidered this wanton renunciation of the ſervice of the altar for a more gainful purſuit, aggravated by ſimulation at leaſt; for this ſeeming open and artleſs character took all the benefit of her hoſpitality, and continued to be her in-

mate the whole time that he was ſecretly carrying on a plan he knew ſhe would reprobate. She, however, behaved with great dignity on the occaſion; ſuppoſing, no doubt, that the obligations ſhe had conferred upon him, deprived her of a right to reproach or reflect upon him. She was never after heard to mention his name; and when others did, always ſhifted the converſation.

All theſe revolutions in manners and opinion helped to endear me to Aunt, as a pupil of her own ſchool; while my tenacious memory enabled me to entertain her with the wealth of other's minds, rendered more amuſing by the ſimplicity of my childiſh comments. Had I been capable of flattery, or rather had I been ſo deficient in natural delicacy, as to ſay what I really thought of this exalted character, the awe with which I regarded her would have deterred me from ſuch preſumption; but as I really loved and honoured her, as virtue perſonified, and found my chief happineſs in her ſociety and converſation, ſhe could

not

not but be aware of this ſilent adulation, and ſhe became indeed more and more deſirous of having me with her. To my father, however, I was now become, in ſome degree, neceſſary, from cauſes ſomewhat ſimilar. He, too, was ſick of the reigning converſation; and being nervous, and rather inclined to melancholy, begun to ſee things in the darkeſt light, and made the moſt of a rheumatiſm, in itſelf bad enough, to have a pretext for indulging the chagrin that preyed upon his mind, and avoiding his Connecticut perſecutors, who attacked him every where but in bed. A fit of chagrin was generally ſucceeded by a fit of home ſickneſs, and that by a paroxyſm of devotion exalted to enthuſiaſm; during which all worldly concerns were to give way to thoſe of futurity. Thus melancholy and thus devout I found my father; whoſe pure and upright ſpirit was corroded with the tricks and chicanery he was forced to obſerve in his new aſſociates, with whom his ſingular probity and ſimplicity of character rendered him very unfit to

contend. My mother, active, cheerful, and conſtantly occupied with her domeſtic affairs, ſought pleaſure no where, and found content every where. I had begun to taſte the luxury of intellectual pleaſures with a very keen reliſh. Winter always ſevere, but this year armed with tenfold vigour, checked my reſearches among birds and plants, which conſtituted my ſummer delights; and poetry was all that remained to me. While I was, "in ſome diviner mood," exulting in theſe ſcenes of inſpiration, opened to me by the "humanizing muſe," the terrible decree went forth, that I was to read no more "idle books or plays." This decree was merely the momentary reſult of a fit of ſickneſs and dejection, and never meant to be ſeriouſly enforced. It produced, however, the effect of making me read ſo much divinity, that I fancied myſelf got quite "beyond the flaming bounds of ſpace and time;" and thought I could never reliſh light reading more. In this ſolemn mood, my greateſt relaxation was a viſit now and then to Aunt's

Aunt's ſiſter-in-law; now entirely bedridden, but ſtill poſſeſſing great powers of converſation, which were called forth by the flattering attention of a child to one whom the world had forſaken. I loved indeed play, ſtrictly ſuch, thoughtleſs, childiſh play, and next to that, calm reflection and diſcuſſion. The world was too buſy and too artful for me; I found myſelf moſt at home with thoſe who had not entered, or thoſe who had left it.

My father's illneſs was much aggravated by the conflict which begun to ariſe in his mind regarding his propoſed removal to his lands, which were already ſurrounded by a new population, conſiſting of theſe faſhionable emigrants from the gay world at New York, whom I have been deſcribing, and a ſet of fierce republicans, if any thing ſneaking and drawling may be ſo called, whom litigious contention had baniſhed from their native province, and who ſeemed let looſe, like Samſon's foxes, to carry miſchief and conflagration wherever they went. Among this motley crew there was no regular place

of worſhip, nor any likely proſpect that there ſhould, for their religions had as many ſhades of difference as the leaves in autumn; and every man of ſubſtance who arrived, was preacher and magiſtrate to his own little colony. To hear their people talk, one would think time had run back to the days of the levellers. The ſettlers from New York, however, ſtruggled hard for ſuperiority, but they were not equal in chicane to their adverſaries, whoſe power lay in their cunning. It was particularly hard for people who acknowledged no ſuperior, who had a thorough knowledge of law and ſcripture, ready to wreſt to every ſelfiſh purpoſe, it was particularly hard, I ſay, for ſuch all-ſufficient perſonages to hold their lands from ſuch people as my father and others, of "King George's Red Coats," as they elegantly ſtyled them. But they were fertile in expedients. From the original eſtabliſhment of theſe provinces, the Connecticut River had been accounted the boundary, to the eaſt, of the province of New York, dividing it from the adjoining one;

one; this diviſion was ſpecified in old patents, and confirmed by analogy. All at once, however, our new tenants at will made a diſcovery, or rather had a revelation, purporting, that there was a twenty mile line, as they called it, which in old times had been carried thus far beyond the Connecticut River, into the bounds of what had ever been eſteemed the province of New York. It had become extremely faſhionable to queſtion the limits of individual property, but for ſo bold a ſtroke at a whole province, people were not prepared. The conſequence of eſtabliſhing this point was, that thus the grants made by the province of New York, of lands not their own, could not be valid; and thus the property, which had coſt the owners ſo much to eſtabliſh and ſurvey, reverted to the other province, and was no longer theirs. This was ſo far beyond all imagination, that though there appeared not the ſmalleſt likelihood of its ſucceeding, as the plea muſt in the end be carried to Britain, people ſtood aghaſt, and ſaw no ſafety in living among

thoſe

thoſe who were capable of making ſuch daring ſtrides over all eſtabliſhed uſage, and ready, on all occaſions, to confederate where any advantage was in view, though ever engaged in litigious contentions with each other in their original home. This aſtoniſhing plea, during its dependance, afforded theſe dangerous neighbours a pretext to continue their uſurped poſſeſſion till it ſhould be decided to which province the lands really belonged. They even carried their inſolence ſo far, that when a particular friend of my father's, a worthy, upright man, named Munro, who poſſeſſed a large tract of land adjoining to his; when this good man, who had eſtabliſhed a ſettlement, ſaw-mills, &c. came to fix ſome tenants of his on his lands, a body of theſe incendiaries came out, armed, to oppoſe them, truſting to their ſuperior numbers and the peaceable diſpoſition of our friend. Now, the fatal twenty mile line ran exactly through the middle of my father's property. Had not the revolution followed ſo ſoon, there was no doubt of this claim being rejected

jected in Britain; but in the mean time it ſerved as a pretext for daily encroachment and inſolent bravadoes. Much of my father's diſorder was owing to the great conflict in his mind. To give up every proſpect of conſequence and affluence, and return to Britain, leaving his property afloat among theſe ungovernable people, (to ſay no worſe of them,) was very hard. Yet to live among them, and by legal coercion force his due out of their hands, was no pleaſing proſpect. His good angel, it would ſeem in the ſequel, whiſpered to him to return. Though, in human prudence, it appeared a fatal meaſure to leave ſo valuable a property in ſuch hands, he thought, firſt, that he would ſtay two or three years; and then, when others had vanquiſhed his antagoniſts, and driven them off the lands, which they, in the mean time, were buſily clearing, he ſhould return with a hoſt of friends and kinſmen, and form a choſen ſociety of his own. He however waited to ſee what change for the better another twelvemonth might produce. Madame, who was conſulted on all his

plans, did not greatly reliſh this; he, at length, half promiſed to leave me with her, till he ſhould return from this expedition.

Returning for a ſhort time to town in ſpring I found Aunt's houſe much enlivened by a very agreeable viſitor; this was Miſs W., daughter to the Honourable Mr. W. of the council. Her elder ſiſter was afterwards Counteſs of Caſſilis, and ſhe herſelf was not long afterwards married to the only native of the continent, I believe, who ever ſucceeded to the title of baronet. She poſſeſſed much beauty, underſtanding, and vivacity. Her playful humour exhilarated the whole houſehold. I regarded her with admiration and delight; and her fanciful excurſions afforded great amuſement to Aunt, and were like a gleam of ſunſhine amidſt the gloom occaſioned by the ſpirit of contention which was let looſe among all manner of people.

The repeal of the ſtamp act having excited new hopes, my father found all his expectations of comfort and proſperity renewed by this temporary calm, and the propoſed

poſed return to Britain was deferred for another year. Aunt, to our great joy, as we ſcarce hoped ſhe would again make ſo diſtant a viſit, came out to the Flats with her fair viſitor, who was about to return to New York. This lady, after going through many of the hardſhips to which perſecuted loyaliſts were afterwards expoſed, with her huſband, who loſt an immenſe property in the ſervice of Government, is now with her family ſettled in Upper Canada, where Sir J. J——n has obtained a large grant of lands as a partial retribution for his great loſſes and faithful ſervice.

Aunt again requeſted and again obtained permiſſion for me to paſs ſome time with her; and golden dreams of felicity at Clarendon again began to poſſeſs my imagination. I returned however ſoon to the Flats, where my preſence became more important, as my father became leſs eager in purſuit of field ſports.

CHAP. XXVI.

Mode of conveying Timber in Rafts down the River.

I BROUGHT out ſome volumes of Shakeſpear with me, and, remembering the prohibition of reading plays promulgated the former winter, was much at a loſs how to proceed. I thought rightly that it was owing to a temporary fit of ſpleen. But then I knew my father was, like all military men, tenacious of his authority, and would poſſibly continue it merely becauſe he had once ſaid ſo. I recollected that he ſaid he would have no plays brought to the houſe; and that I read them unchecked at Madame's, who was my model in all things. It ſo happened that the river had been higher than uſual that ſpring, and, in conſequence, exhibited a ſucceſſion of very amuſing ſcenes. The ſettlers, whoſe increaſe above towards Stillwater had been for three years paſt incredibly great, ſet up ſaw-mills on every ſtream

ſtream, for the purpoſe of turning to account the fine timber which they cleared in great quantities off the new lands. The planks they drew in ſledges to the ſide of the great river; and when the ſeaſon arrived that ſwelled the ſtream to its greateſt height, a whole neighbourhood aſſembled, and made their joint ſtock into a large raft, which was floated down the river with a man or two on it, who with long poles were always ready to ſteer it clear of thoſe iſlands or ſhallows which might impede its courſe. There is ſomething ſerenely majeſtic in the eaſy progreſs of thoſe large bodies on the full ſtream of this copious river. Sometimes one ſees a whole family tranſported on this ſimple conveyance; the mother calmly ſpinning, the children ſporting about her, and the father fiſhing on one end, and watching its ſafety at the ſame time. Theſe raſts were taken down to Albany, and put on board veſſels there for conveyance to New York; ſometimes, however, it happened that, as they proceeded very ſlowly, dry weather came on by the time they

reached

reached the Flats, and it became impoſſible to carry them further; in that caſe they were depoſited in great triangular piles oppoſite our door. One of theſe which was larger than ordinary, I ſelected for a reading cloſet. There I ſafely lodged my Shakeſpear; and there in my play hours I went to read it undiſturbed, with the advantage of freſh air, a cool ſhade, and a full view of the road on one ſide, and the beautiful river on the other. While I enjoyed undiſturbed privacy, I had the prohibition full in my mind, but thought I ſhould keep to the ſpirit of it by only reading the hiſtorical plays, comforting myſelf that they were *true*. Theſe I read over and over with pleaſure ever new; it was quite in my way, for I was familiarly acquainted with the Engliſh hiſtory; now, indeed, I began to reliſh Shakeſpear, and to be aſtoniſhed at my former blindneſs to his beauties. The contention of the rival roſes occupied all my thoughts, and broke my reſt. "Wind-changing Warwick" did not change oftener than I, but at length my compaſſion for holy Henry, and hatred to Richard,

Richard, fixed me a Lancaſtrian. I begun to wonder how any body could exiſt without reading Shakeſpear, and at length reſolved, at all riſks, to make my father a ſharer in my new found felicity. Of the nature of taſte I had not the leaſt idea; ſo far otherwiſe, that I was continually revolving benevolent plans to diſtribute ſome of the poetry I moſt delighted in among the Bezaleels and Habakkuks, of the twenty-mile line. I thought this would make them happy as myſelf, and that when they once felt the charm of "muſical delight," the harſh language of contention would ceaſe, and legal quibbling give way before the ſpirit of harmony. How often did I repeat Thompſon's deſcription of the golden age, concluding

"For muſic held the whole in perfect peace."

At home, however, I was in ſome degree ſucceſsful. My father did begin to take ſome intereſt in the roſes, and I was happy, yet kept both my ſecret and my cloſet, and made more and more advances in the ſtudy of theſe "wood notes wild." As you like it,

and the Midſummer Night's Dream enchanted me; and I thought the comfort of my cloſet ſo great, that I dreaded nothing ſo much as a flood, that ſhould occaſion its being once more ſet in motion. I was one day deeply engaged in compaſſionating Othello, ſitting on a plank, added on the outſide of the pile for ſtrengthening it, when happening to lift my eyes, I ſaw a long ſerpent on the ſame board, at my elbow, in a threatening attitude, with its head lifted up. Othello and I ran off together with all imaginable ſpeed; and as that particular kind of ſnake ſeldom approaches any perſon, unleſs the abode of its young is invaded, I began to fear I had been ſtudying Shakeſpear in a neſt of ſerpents. Our faithful ſervant examined the place at my requeſt. Under the very board on which I ſat, when terrified by this unwiſhed aſſociate, was found a neſt with ſeven eggs. After being moſt thankful for my eſcape, the next thing was to admire the patience and good humour of the mother of this family, who permitted ſuch a being

as

as myſelf ſo long to ſhare her haunt with impunity. Indeed, the rural pleaſures of this country were always liable to thoſe drawbacks; and this place was peculiarly infeſted with the familiar garter-ſnake, becauſe the ruins of the burnt houſe afforded ſhelter and ſafety to theſe reptiles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Swamp.—A Diſcovery.

THIS adventure made me cautious of ſitting out of doors, yet I daily braved a danger of the ſame nature, in the woods behind the houſe, which were my favourite haunts, and where I frequently ſaw ſnakes, yet was never purſued or annoyed by them. In this wood, half a mile from the houſe, was a ſwamp, which afforded a ſcene ſo totally unlike any thing elſe, that a deſcription of it may amuſe thoſe who have never ſeen nature in that primitive ſtate.

This ſwamp then, was in the midſt of a pine wood, and was ſurrounded on two ſides by little hills, ſome of which were covered with cedar, and others with the ſilver fir, very picturesque, and finely varied with ſhrubs, and every gradation of green. The ſwamp ſunk into a hollow, like a large baſon, exactly circular; round half of it, was a bor-

a border of maple, the other half was edged with poplar. No creature ever entered this place in ſummer, its extreme ſoftneſs kept it ſacred from every human foot, for no one could go, without the riſk of being ſwallowed up; different aquatic plants grew with great luxuriance in this quagmire, particularly bullruſhes, and ſeveral beautiful ſpecies of the Iris, and the alder and willow; much of it, however, was open, and in different places the water ſeemed to form ſtagnant pools; in many places large trees had fallen of old, which were now covered with moſs, and afforded a home to numberleſs wild animals. In the midſt of this aquatic retreat, were two ſmall iſlands of inconceivable beauty, that roſe high above the reſt, like the Oaſis of the deſarts, and were dry and ſafe, though unapproachable. On one of theſe I remember, grew three apple trees, an occurrence not rare here; for a ſquirrel, for inſtance, happens to drop the ſeeds of an apple in a ſpot at once ſheltered and fertile; at a lucky ſeaſon, they grow and bear, though with leſs vigour and beauty than

thoſe which are cultivated. That beautiful fruit, the wild plum, was alſo abundant on theſe little ſanctuaries, as they might be called, for, conſcious of impunity, every creature that flies the purſuit of man, gamboled in ſafety here, and would allow one to gaze at them from the brink of this natural fortreſs. One would think a congreſs of birds and animals had aſſembled here; never was a ſpot more animated and chearful. There was nothing like it in the great foreſts; creatures here, aware of their general enemy, man, had choſen it as their laſt retreat. The black, the large ſilver grey, the little ſtriped, and nimble flying ſquirrel, were all at home here, and all viſible in a thouſand fantaſtic attitudes. Pheaſants and woodpeckers in countleſs numbers, diſplayed their glowing plumage, and the ſongſters of the foreſt, equally conſcious of their immunity, made the marſh reſound with their blended muſic, while the fox, here a ſmall auburn coloured creature, the martin, and racoons occaſionally appeared and vaniſhed through the foliage. Often, on pretence of bringing home

the cows in the morning, (when in their own leiſurely way they were coming themſelves,) I uſed to go, accompanied by my faithful Marian, to admire this ſwamp, at once a menagerie and aviary, and might truly ſay with Burns,

"My heart rejoic'd in nature's joy."

Not content, however, with the contemplation of animated nature, I begun to entertain a fancy, which almoſt grew into a paſſion, for explaining

"Every herb that ſips the dew."

The ordinary plants of that country differ very much from thoſe moſt frequent here; and this thirſt for herbalizing, for I muſt dignify my humble reſearches with the name of botanical ones, was a pleaſing occupation. I made ſome progreſs in diſcovering the names and natures of theſe plants, I mean their properties; but unfortunately they were only Indian or Dutch names. This kind of knowledge, in that degree, is eaſily acquired there, becauſe every one poſſeſſes it

in ſome meaſure. Nothing ſurpriſed me ſo much, when I came to Britain, at to ſee young people ſo incurious about nature.

The woods behind our dwelling had been thinned to procure firing, and were more open and acceſſible than ſuch places generally are. Walking one fine ſummer's evening, with my uſual attendant, a little further into the wood than uſual, but far from any known inhabitant, I heard peals of laughter, not joyous only, but triumphant, iſſue from the bottom, as it ſeemed, of a large pine. Silence ſucceeded, and we looked at each other with a mixture of fear and wonder, for it grew darkiſh. At laſt we made a whiſpered agreement to glide nearer among the buſhes, and explore the ſource of all this merriment. Twilight, ſolemn every where, is awful in theſe foreſts; our awe was preſently increaſed by the appearance of a light, that glimmered and diſappeared by turns. Loud laughter was again reiterated, and at length a voice cried, "How pretty he is!" while another anſwered in ſofter accents, "See how the dear crea-

ture runs!" We crept on, cheared by theſe ſounds, and ſaw a handſome good natured looking man, in a ragged provincial uniform, ſitting on a ſtump of a tree. Oppoſite, on the ground, ſat a pretty little brunette woman, neatly, though meanly clad, with ſparkling black eyes, and a countenance all vivacity and delight. A very little, very fair boy, with his mother's brilliant black eyes contraſting his flaxen hair and ſoft infantine complexion, went with tottering ſteps, that ſhewed this was his firſt eſſay, from one to the other, and loud laughter gratulated his ſafe arrival in the arms of either parent. We had now pretty clearly aſcertained the family, the next thing was to diſcover the houſe; this point was more difficult to eſtabliſh; at laſt, we found it was barely a place to ſleep in, partly excavated from the ground, and partly covered with a ſlight roof of bark and branches: never was poverty ſo complete or ſo chearful. In that country, every white perſon had inferiors, and therefore being merely white, claimed a degree of reſpect, and being very rich, or very fine, entitled you to very little

more. Simplicity would be a charming thing, if one could ſtrain it from groſſneſs, but that, I believe, is no eaſy operation. We now, with much conſideration and civility, preſented ourſelves; I thought the cows would afford a happy opening for converſation. "Don't be afraid of noiſe, we are driving our three cows home; have you any cows?" "Och no, my dare child, not one, young Miſs," ſaid the ſoldier. "O, but then mamma will give milk to the child, for we have plenty, and no child." "O dear, pretty miſs, don't mind that at all, at all." "Come," ſaid the miſtreſs of the hovel, "we have got fine butter-milk here, from Stephen's, come in and take a drink." I civilly declined this invitation, being wholly intent on the child, who appeared to me like a ſmiling love, and at once ſeized on my affection. Patrick Coonie, for ſuch was the name of our new neighbour, gave us his hiſtory in a very few words; he had married Kate in Penſylvania, who, young as ſhe looked, had three children, from ten to fourteen, or thereabouts; he had ſome trade

which

which had not thriven, he liſted in the provincials, ſpent what he had on his family; hired again, ſerved another campaign, came down pennyleſs, and here they had come for a temporary ſhelter, to get work among their neighbours: the excavation exiſted before, Patrick happily diſcovered it, and added the ingenious roof which now covered it. I aſked for their other children; they were in ſome mean ſervice. I was all anxiety for Patrick, ſo was not he; the lillies of the field did not look gayer, or more thoughtleſs of to-morrow, and Kate ſeemed equally unconcerned.

Haſtily were the cows driven home that night, and to prevent reproaches for delay, I flew to communicate my diſcovery. Eager to ſay how ill off we often were for an occaſional hand, to aſſiſt with our jobs, and how well we could ſpare a certain neglected log-houſe on our premiſes, &c. This was treated as very chimerical at firſt, but when Patrick's family had undergone a ſurvey, and Kate's accompliſhments of ſpinning, &c. were taken into conſideration, to my un-

ſpeakable joy, the family were accommodated as I wiſhed, and their ſeveral talents made known to our neighbours, who kept them in conſtant buſineſs. Kate ſpun and ſung like a lark, little Paddy was moſtly with us, for I taught every one in the houſe to be fond of him.

I was at the utmoſt loſs for ſomething to cheriſh and careſs, when this moſt amuſing creature, who inherited all the gaiety and good temper of his parents, came in my way, as the firſt of poſſible play things. Patrick was, of all beings, the moſt handy and obliging; he could do every thing, but then he could drink too, and the extreme cheapneſs of liquor was a great ſnare to poor creatures addicted to it; Patrick, however, had long lucid intervals, and I had the joy of ſeeing them comparatively happy. To this was added, that of ſeeing my father recover his ſpirits, and renew his uſual ſports, and moreover, I was permitted to return to aunt Schuyler's. I did not fail to entertain her with the hiſtory of my diſcovery, and its conſequences, and my tale was not told in vain.

vain. Aunt weighed and balanced all things in her mind, and drew ſome good out of every thing.

White ſervants, whom very few people had, were very expenſive here; but there was a mode of meliorating things. Poor people who came adventurers from other countries, and found a ſettlement a ſlower proceſs than they were aware of, had got into a mode of apprenticing their children. No riſk attended this in Albany; cuſtom is all-powerful; and lenity to ſervants was ſo much the cuſtom, that to ill-uſe a defenceleſs creature in your power was reckoned infamous, and was indeed unheard of. Aunt recommended the young Coonies, who were fine well looking children, for apprentices to ſome of the beſt families in town, where they were well bred and well treated, and we all contributed decent clothing for them to go home in. I deeply felt this obligation, and little thought how ſoon I was to be deprived of all the happineſs I owed to the friendſhip of my dear benefactreſs. This acceſſion occupied and

pleaſed me exceedingly; my attachment to the little boy grew hourly, and I indulged it to a degree I certainly would not have done, if I had not ſet him down for one of the future inhabitants of Clarendon; that region of fancied felicity, where I was building log-houſes in the air perpetually, and filling them with an imaginary population, innocent and intelligent beyond all compariſon. Theſe viſions, however, were ſoon deſtined to give way to ſad realities. The greateſt immediate tribulation I was liable to, was Patrick's coming home now and then gay beyond his wonted gaiety; which grieved me both on Kate's account and that of little Paddy: but in the fertile plains of Clarendon, remedies were to be found for every paſſing evil; and I had not the leaſt doubt of having influence enough to prevent the admiſſion of ſpirituous liquors into that "region of calm delights." Such were the dreams from which I was awakened (on returning from a long viſit to Aunt) by my father's avowing his fixed intention to return home.

A very

A very worthy Argyleſhire friend of his, in the mean time, came and paid him a viſit of a month; which month was occupied in the moſt endearing recollections of Lochawſide, and the hills of Morven. When I returned, I heard of nothing but the Alpine ſcenes of Scotland, of which I had not the ſmalleſt recollection; but which I loved with borrowed enthuſiaſm: ſo well that they at times balanced with Clarendon. My next ſource of comfort was, that I was to return to the land of light and freedom, and mingle, as I flattered myſelf I ſhould, with ſuch as thoſe whom I had admired in their immortal works. Determined to be happy, with the ſanguine eagerneſs of youth, the very oppoſite materials ſerved for conſtructing another ideal fabric.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Mrs. Schuyler's View of the Continental Politics.

AUNT was extremely ſorry when the final determination was announced. She had now her good ſiſter-in-law, Mrs. Wendell, with her, and ſeemed much to enjoy the ſociety of that meek pious woman, who was as happy as any thing earthly could make her. As to public affairs their aſpect did not pleaſe her; and therefore ſhe endeavoured, as far as poſſible, to withdraw her attention from them. She was too well acquainted with the complicated nature of human affairs, to give a raſh judgment on the political diſputes then in agitation. She ſaw indeed reaſon for apprehenſion whatever way ſhe turned. She knew the prejudices and ſelf-opinion faſt ſpreading through the country too well, to expect quiet ſubmiſſion, and could ſee nothing on all

all hands but a choice of evils. Were the provinces to ſet up for themſelves, ſhe thought they had not coheſion nor ſubordination enough among them to form, or to ſubmit to any ſalutary plan of government. On the other hand ſhe ſaw no good effect likely to reſult from a reluctant dependance on a diſtant people, whom they already began to hate, though hitherto nurſed and protected by them. She clearly foreſaw that no mode of taxation could be invented to which they would eaſily ſubmit; and that the defence of the continent from enemies, and keeping the neceſſary military force to protect the weak and awe the turbulent, would be a perpetual drain of men and money to Great Britain, ſtill increaſing with the increaſed population. In ſhort, ſhe held all the ſpecious plans that were talked over very cheap; while her affection for Britain made her ſhudder at the moſt diſtant idea of a ſeparation; yet not as ſuppoſing ſuch a ſtep very hurtful to this country, which would be thus freed of a very coſtly incumbrance. But the dread

of

of future anarchy, the horrors of civil war, and the dereliction of principle which generally refults from tumultuary conflicts, were the ſpectres with which ſhe was haunted.

Having now once for all given (to the beſt of my recollection) a faithful ſketch of Aunt's opinions on this intricate ſubject, I ſhall not recur to them, nor by any means attempt to enter into any detail of the dark days that were approaching. Firſt, becauſe I feel unſpeakable pain in looking back upon occurrences that I know too well, though I was not there to witneſs; in which the friends of my early youth were greatly involved, and had much indeed to endure, on both ſides. Next, becauſe there is little ſatisfaction in narrating tranſactions where there is no room to praiſe either ſide. That waſte of perſonal courage and Britiſh blood and treaſure, which were ſquandered to no purpoſe on one ſide in that ill-conducted war, and the inſolence and cruelty which tarniſhed the triumph of the other, form no pleaſing ſubject of retroſpection: while the

unſucceſs-

unſucceſsful and often unrewarded loyalty of the ſufferers for government, cannot be recollected without the moſt wounding regret. The years of Madame, after I parted with her, were involved in a cloud raiſed by the conflicts of contending arms, which I vainly endeavoured to penetrate. My account of her muſt therefore, in a great meaſure, terminate with this ſad year. My father taking in ſpring decided meaſures for leaving America, entruſted his lands to the care of his friend John Munro Eſq., then reſiding near Clarendon, and chief magiſtrate of that newly peopled diſtrict; a very worthy friend and countryman of his own, who was then in high triumph on account of a fancied conqueſt over the ſupporters of the twenty mile line; and thought, when that point was fully eſtabliſhed, there would be no further obſtruction to their realizing their property to great advantage, or colonizing it from Scotland, if ſuch ſhould be their wiſh. Aunt leaned hard to the latter expedient, but my father could not think of leaving me behind to await the chance

chance of his return; and I had been talked into a wiſh for reviſiting the land of my nativity.

I left my domeſtic favourites with great pain, but took care to introduce them to Aunt, and implored her, with all the pathos I was miſtreſs of, to take an intereſt in them when I was gone; which ſhe very good naturedly promiſed to do. Another very kind thing ſhe did. Once a year ſhe ſpent a day or two at General Schuyler's, I call him by his later acquired title, to diſtinguiſh him from the number of his namefakes I have had occaſion to mention. She now ſo timed her viſit (though in dreadful weather) that I might accompany her, and take my laſt farewell of my young companions there: yet I could not bring myſelf to think it a final one. The terrible words, *no more*, never paſſed my lips. I had too buoyant a ſpirit to encounter a voluntary heartach by looking on the dark ſide of any thing, and always figured myſelf returning, and joyfully received by the friends with whom I was parting.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Deſcription of the Breaking up of the Ice on Hudſon's River.

SOON after this I witneſſed, for the laſt time, the ſublime ſpectacle of the ice breaking up on the river; an object that fills and elevates the mind with ideas of power, and grandeur, and, indeed, magnificence; before which all the triumphs of human art ſink into contemptuous inſignificance. This noble object of animated greatneſs, for ſuch it ſeemed, I never miſſed; its approach being announced, like a loud and long peal of thunder, the whole population of Albany were down at the river ſide in a moment; and if it happened, as was often the caſe, in the morning, there could not be a more groteſque aſſemblage. No one who had a night-cap on waited to put it off; as for waiting for one's cloak, or gloves, it was a thing out of the queſtion; you caught the

thing

thing next you, that could wrap round you, and run. In the way you ſaw every door left open, and pails, baſkets, &c. without number, ſet down in the ſtreet. It was a perfect ſaturnalia. People never dreamt of being obeyed by their ſlaves, till the ice was paſt. The houſes were left quite empty: the meaneſt ſlave, the youngeſt child, all were to be found on the ſhore. Such as could walk, ran; and they that could not, were carried by thoſe whoſe duty would have been to ſtay and attend them. When arrived at the *ſhew place*, unlike the audience collected to witneſs any ſpectacle of human invention, the multitude, with their eyes all bent one way, ſtood immoveable, and ſilent as death, till the tumult ceaſed, and the mighty commotion was paſſed by; then every one tried to give vent to the vaſt conceptions with which his mind had been diſtended. Every child, and every negroe, was ſure to ſay, "Is not this like the day of judgment?" and what they ſaid every one elſe thought. Now to deſcribe this is impoſſible; but I mean to

account

account, in ſome degree, for it. The ice, which had been all winter very thick, inſtead of diminiſhing, as might be expected in ſpring, ſtill increaſed, as the ſun-ſhine came, and the days lengthened. Much ſnow fell in February; which, melted by the heat of the ſun, was ſtagnant, for a day, on the ſurface of the ice; and then by the night froſts, which were ſtill ſevere, was added, as a new acceſſion to the thickneſs of it, above the former ſurface. This was ſo often repeated, that in ſome years the ice gained two feet in thickneſs, after the heat of the ſun became ſuch, as one would have expected ſhould have entirely diſſolved it. So conſcious were the natives of the ſafety this accumulation of ice afforded, that the ſledges continued to drive on the ice, when the trees were budding, and every thing looked like ſpring; nay, when there was ſo much melted on the ſurface that the horſes were knee deep in water, while travelling on it; and portentous cracks, on every ſide, announced the approaching rupture. This could ſcarce have been produced

duced by the mere influence of the ſun, till midſummer. It was the ſwelling of the waters under the ice, increaſed by rivulets, enlarged by melted ſnows, that produced this cataſtrophe; for ſuch the aweful concuſſion made it appear. The prelude to the general burſting of this mighty maſs, was a fracture, lengthways, in the middle of the ſtream, produced by the effort of the impriſoned waters, now increaſed too much to be contained within their wonted bounds. Conceive a ſolid maſs, from ſix to eight feet thick, burſting for many miles in one continued rupture, produced by a force inconceivably great, and, in a manner, inexpreſſibly ſudden. Thunder is no adequate image of this aweful exploſion, which rouſed all the ſleepers, within reach of the ſound, as completely as the final convulſion of nature, and the ſolemn peal of the awakening trumpet, might be ſuppoſed to do. The ſtream in ſummer was confined by a pebbly ſtrand, overhung with high and ſteep banks, crowned with lofty trees, which were conſidered as a ſacred barrier againſt the

the encroachments of this annual viſitation. Never dryads dwelt in more ſecurity than thoſe of the vine-clad elms, that extended their ample branches over this mighty ſtream. Their tangled nets laid bare by the impetuous torrents, formed caverns ever freſh and fragrant; where the moſt delicate plants flouriſhed, unviſited by ſcorching ſuns, or ſnipping blaſts; and nothing could be more ſingular than the variety of plants and birds that were ſheltered in theſe intricate and ſafe receſſes. But when the burſting of the chryſtal ſurface ſet looſe the many waters that had ruſhed down, ſwollen with the annual tribute of diſſolving ſnow, the iſlands and low lands were all flooded in an inſtant; and the lofty banks, from which you were wont to overlook the ſtream, were now entirely filled by an impetuous torrent, bearing down, with incredible and tumultuous rage, immenſe ſhoals of ice; which, breaking every inſtant by the concuſſion of others, jammed together in ſome places, in others erecting themſelves in gigantic heights for an in-

ſtant

inſtant in the air, and ſeeming to combat with their fellow giants crowding on in all directions, and falling together with an inconceivable craſh, formed a terrible moving picture, animated and various beyond conception; for it was not only the cerulean ice, whoſe broken edges combating with the ſtream, refracted light into a thouſand rainbows, that charmed your attention, lofty pines, large pieces of the bank torn off by the ice with all their early green and tender foliage, were drove on like travelling iſlands, amid this battle of breakers, for ſuch it ſeemed. I am abſurdly attempting to paint a ſcene, under which the powers of language ſink. Suffice it, that this year its ſolemnity was increaſed by an unuſual quantity of ſnow, which the laſt hard winter had accumulated, and the diſſolution of which now threatened an inundation.

Solemn indeed it was to me, as the memento of my approaching journey, which was to take place whenever the ice broke, which is here a kind of epoch. The parting with all that I loved at the Flats was ſuch

an

an affliction, as it is even yet a renewal of ſorrows to recollect. I loved the very barn and the ſwamp I have deſcribed ſo much that I could not ſee them for the laſt time without a pang. As for the iſland and the bank of the river, I know not how I ſhould have parted with them, if I had thought the parting final; the good kind neighbours, and my faithful and moſt affectionate Marian, to whom of all others this ſeparation was moſt wounding, grieved me not a little. I was always ſanguine in the extreme, and would hope againſt hope; but Marian, who was older, and had more common ſenſe, knew too well how little likelihood there was of my ever returning. Often with ſtreaming eyes and burſting ſobs ſhe begged to know if the ſoul of a perſon dying in America could find its way over the vaſt ocean to join that of thoſe who roſe to the abodes of future bliſs from Europe: her hope of a reunion being now entirely referred to that in a better world. There was no truth I found it ſo difficult to impreſs upon her mind as the poſſibility of ſpirits being

being inſtantaneouſly tranſported from one diſtant place to another; a doctrine which ſeemed to her very comfortable. Her agony at the final parting I do not like to think of. When I uſed to obtain permiſſion to paſs a little time in town, I was tranſported with the thoughts of the enjoyments that awaited me in the ſociety of my patroneſs, and the young friends I moſt loved.

CHAP. XXX.

Departure from Albany.—Origin of the State of Vermont.

AFTER quitting the Flats we were to ſtay for ſome days at Madame's, till we ſhould make a circular viſit, and take leave. Having lulled my diſappointment with regard to Clarendon, and filled all my dreams with images of Clydeſdale and Tweedale, and every other vale or dale that were the haunts of the paſtoral muſe in Scotland, I grew pretty well reconciled to my approaching journey; thinking I ſhould meet piety and literature in every cottage, and poetry and muſic in every receſs, among the ſublime ſcenery of my native mountains. At any rate, I was ſure I ſhould hear the larks ſing, and ſee the early primroſe deck the woods, and daiſies enamel the meadows. On all which privileges I had been taught to ſet the due value, yet I wondered very much

much how it was that I could enjoy nothing with ſuch gay viſions opening before me; my heart, I ſuppoſed, was honeſter than my imagination, for it refuſed to take pleaſure in any thing; which was a ſtate of mind ſo new to me that I could not underſtand it. Every where I was careſſed, and none of theſe careſſes gave me pleaſure; at length, the ſad day came that I was to take the laſt farewel of my firſt beſt friend who had often in vain urged my parents to leave me till they ſhould decide whether to ſtay or return. About this they did not heſitate; nor, though they had, could I have diveſted myſelf of the deſire now waked in my mind, of ſeeing once more my native land, which I merely loved upon truſt, not having the faintеſt recollection of it.

Madame embraced me tenderly with many tears, at parting; and I felt a kind of preluſive anguiſh, as if I had anticipated the ſorrows that awaited; I do not mean now the painful viciſſitudes of after life, but merely the cruel diſappointment that I felt in finding the ſcenery and its inhabitants ſo

different

different from the Elyſian vales and Arcadian ſwains, that I had imagined.

When we came away, by an odd coincidence, Aunt's nephew Peter was juſt about to be married to a very fine young creature, whom his relations did not, for ſome reaſon that I do not remember, think ſuitable; while, at the very ſame time, her niece Miſs W. had captivated the ſon of a rich but avaricious man, who would not conſent to his marrying her, unleſs Aunt gave a fortune with her; which being an unuſual demand, ſhe did not chooſe to comply with. I was the proud and happy confidante of both theſe lovers; and before we left New York we heard that each had married without waiting for the with-held conſent. And thus for once Madame was left without a *Protegée*, but ſtill ſhe had her ſiſter W., and ſoon acquired a new ſet of children, the orphan ſons of her nephew Cortlandt Schuyler, who continued under her care for the remainder of her life.

My voyage down the river, which was by contrary winds protracted to a whole

week, would have been very pleaſant, could any thing have pleaſed me. I was at leaſt ſoothed by the extreme beauty of many ſcenes on the banks of this fine ſtream, which I was fated never more to behold.

Nothing could exceed the ſoft grateful verdure that met the eye on every ſide as we approached New York: it was in the beginning of May, the great orchards which roſe on every ſlope were all in bloom, and the woods of poplar beyond them had their ſprouting foliage tinged with a lighter ſhade of the freſheſt green. Staten Iſland roſe gradual from the ſea in which it ſeemed to float, and was ſo covered with innumerable fruit-trees in full bloſſom, that it looked like ſome enchanted foreſt. I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe a place ſo well known as New York, but merely content myſelf with ſaying that I was charmed with the air of eaſy gaiety, and ſocial kindneſs that ſeemed to prevail every where among the people, and the cheerful animated appearance of the place altogether. Here I fed the painful longings of my mind, which already began

to

to turn impatiently towards Madame, by converſing with young people whom I had met at her houſe, on their ſummer excurſions. Theſe were moſt deſirous to pleaſe and amuſe me; and, though I knew little of good breeding, I had good nature enough to try to ſeem pleaſed, but, in fact, I enjoyed nothing. Though I ſaw there was much to enjoy had my mind been tuned as uſual to ſocial delight, fatigued with the kindneſs of others and my own ſimulation, I tried to forget my ſorrows in ſleep; but night, that was wont to bring peace and ſilence in her train, had no ſuch companions here. The ſpirit of diſcord had broke looſe. The fermentation was begun that has not yet ended. And at midnight, bands of intoxicated electors, who were then chooſing a member for the Aſſembly, came thundering to the doors, demanding a vote for their favoured candidate. An hour after another party equally vociferous, and not more ſober, alarmed us, by inſiſting on our giving our votes for their favourite competitor. This was mere play; but before we embarked, there was

a kind of preluſive ſkirmiſh, that ſtrongly marked the ſpirit of the times. Theſe new patriots had taken it in their heads that Lieutenant Governor Colden ſent home intelligence of their proceedings, or in ſome other way betrayed them, as they thought, to Government. In one of theſe fits of exceſs and fury, which are ſo often the reſult of popular elections, they went to his houſe, drew out his coach, and ſet fire to it. This was the night before we embarked, after a week's ſtay in New York.

My little ſtory being no longer blended with the memoirs of my benefactreſs, I ſhall not trouble the reader with the account of our melancholy and perilous voyage. Here, too, with regret I muſt cloſe the account of what I knew of Aunt Schuyler. I heard very little of her till the breaking out of that diſaſtrous war which every one, whatever ſide they may have taken at the time, muſt look back on with diſguſt and horror.

To tell the hiſtory of Aunt during the years that her life was prolonged to witneſs ſcenes abhorrent to her feelings, and her principles,

principles, would be a painful task indeed; though I were better informed than I am, or wish to be, of the transactions of those perturbed times. Of her private history I only know, that, on the accidental death formerly mentioned, of her nephew Capt. Cortlandt Schuyler, she took home his two eldest sons, and kept them with her till her own death, which happened in 1778 or 1779. I know too, that like the Roman Atticus, she kept free from the violence and bigotry of party, and like him too, kindly and liberally assisted those of each side, who, as the tide of success ran different ways, were considered as unfortunate. On this subject, I do not chuse to enlarge, but shall merely observe, that all the Colonel's relations were on the republican side, while every one of her own nephews adhered to the royal cause, to their very great loss and detriment; though some of them have now found a home in Upper Canada, where, if they are alienated from their native province, they have at least the consolation of meeting many other deserving

people, whom the fury of party had driven there for refuge *.

Though unwilling to obtrude upon my reader any further particulars, irrelevant to the main ſtory I have endeavoured to detail, he may perhaps be deſirous to know how the townſhip of Clarendon was at length diſpoſed of. My father's friend, Captain Munro, was engaged for himſelf and his military friends, in a litigation, or I ſhould rather ſay, the provinces of New York and Connecticut continued to diſpute the right to the boundary within the twenty mile line, till a diſpute ſtill more ſerious gave ſpirit to

* Since writing the above, the author of this narrative has heard many particulars of the later years of her good friend, by which it appears, that to the laſt her loyalty and public ſpirit burned with a clear and ſteady flame. She was by that time too venerable as well as reſpectable to be inſulted for her principles; and her opinions were always delivered in a manner firm and calm, like her own mind, which was too well regulated to admit the rancour of party, and too dignified to ſtoop to diſguiſe of any kind. She died full of years, and honoured by all who could or could not appreciate her worth; for not to eſteem Aunt Schuyler was to forfeit all pretenſions to eſtimation.

the

the new ſettlers from Connecticut, to riſe in arms, and expel the unfortunate loyaliſts from that diſtrict, which was bounded on one ſide by the Green mountain, ſince diſtinguiſhed, like Rome in its infancy, as a place of refuge to all the lawleſs and uncontroulable ſpirits who had baniſhed themſelves from general ſociety.

It was a great mortification to ſpeculative romance and vanity, for me to conſider that the very ſpot, which I had been uſed fondly to contemplate as the future abode of peace, innocence, and all the ſocial virtues, that this very ſpot ſhould be ſingled out from all others, as a refuge for the vagabonds and banditti of the continent. They were, however, diſtinguiſhed by a kind of deſperate bravery and unconquerable obſtinacy. They, at one time, ſet the States, and the Mother country, equally at defiance, and ſet up for an independence of their own; on this occaſion they were ſo troubleſome, and the others ſo tame, that the laſt mentioned were fain to purchaſe their nominal ſubmiſſion by a moſt diſgrace-

ful conceſſion. There was a kind of proviſion made for all the Britiſh ſubjects who poſſeſſed property in the alienated provinces, provided that they had not bore arms againſt the Americans; theſe were permitted to ſell their lands, though not for their full value, but at a limited price. My father came preciſely under this deſcription; but the Green mountain boys, as the irregular inhabitants of the diſputed boundaries were then called, conſcious that all the lands they had forcibly uſurped were liable to this kind of claim, ſet up the ſtandard of independance. They indeed poſitively refuſed to confederate with the reſt, or conſent to the propoſed peace, unleſs the robbery they had committed ſhould be ſanctioned by a law, giving them a full right to retain, unqueſtioned, this violent acquiſition.

It is doubtful, of three parties, who were moſt to blame on this occaſion. The depredators, who, in defiance of even natural equity, ſeized and erected this little petulent ſtate. The mean conceſſion of the other provinces, who, after permitting this one to

ſet

ſet their authority at defiance, ſoothed them into ſubmiſſion by a gift of what was not theirs to beſtow; or the tame acquieſcence of the then miniſtry, in an arrangement which deprived faithful ſubjects, who were at the ſame time war-worn veterans, of the reward aſſigned them for their ſervices.

Proud of the reſemblance which their origin bore to that of ancient Rome, they latinized the common appellation of their territory, and made wholeſome laws for its regulation. Thus begun the petty ſtate of Vermont, and thus ends the *hiſtory of an heireſs.*

CHAP. XXXI.

General Reflections.

I HOPE my readers will ſhare the ſatisfaction I feel, in contemplating, at this diſtance, the growing proſperity of Albany, which is, I am told, greatly increaſed in ſize and conſequence, far ſuperior, indeed, to any inland town on the Continent, and ſo important from its centrical ſituation, that it has been been propoſed as the ſeat of Congreſs, which, ſhould the party attached to Britain ever gain the aſcendancy over the ſouthern States, would, very probably, be the caſe. The morality, ſimple manners, and conſiſtent opinions of the inhabitants, ſtill bearing evident traces of that integrity and ſimplicity which once diſtinguiſhed them. The reflections which muſt reſult from the knowledge of theſe circumſtances are ſo obvious, that it is needleſs to point them out.

A reader that has patience to proceed thus far,

far, in a narration too careleſs and deſultory for the grave, and too heavy and perplexed for the gay, too minute for the buſy, and too ſerious for the idle; ſuch a reader muſt have been led on by an intereſt in the virtues of the leading character, and will be ſufficiently awake to their remaining effects.

Very different, however, muſt be the reflections that ariſe from a more general view of the preſent ſtate of our ancient colonies.

" O for that warning voice, which he who ſaw
" Th' Apocalypſe, heard cry, That a voice, like
" The deep and dreadful organ-pipe of Heaven,"

would ſpeak terror to thoſe whoſe delight is in change and agitation; to thoſe who wantonly light up the torch of diſcord, which many waters will not extinguiſh. Even when peace ſucceeds to the breathleſs fury of ſuch a conteſt, it comes too late to reſtore the virtues, the hopes, the affections that have periſhed in it. The gangrene of the land is not healed, and the prophets vainly

vainly cry peace! peace! where there is no peace.

However upright the intentions may be of the firſt leaders of popular inſurrections, it may be truly ſaid of them, in the end, inſtruments of cruelty are in their habitations: nay, muſt be, for when they have proceeded a certain length, conciliation or lenity would be cruelty to their followers, who are gone too far, to return to the place from which they ſet out. Rectitude, hitherto upheld by laws, by cuſtom, and by fear, now walks alone, in unaccuſtomed paths, and like a tottering infant, falls at the firſt aſſault, or firſt obſtacle it meets; but falls to riſe no more. Let any one who has mixed much with mankind, ſay, what would be the conſequence if reſtraint were withdrawn, and impunity offered to all whoſe probity is not fixed on the baſis of real piety, or ſupported by ſingular fortitude, and that ſound ſenſe which, diſcerning remote conſequences, preſerves integrity as armour of proof againſt the worſt that can happen.

True it is, that amidſt theſe convulſions

of the moral world, exigencies bring out ſome characters that ſweep acroſs the gloom like meteors in a tempeſtuous night, which would not have been diſtinguiſhed in the ſunſhine of proſperity. It is in the ſwell of the turbulent ocean that the mightieſt living handy-works of the author of nature are to be met with. Great minds no doubt are called out by exigencies, and put forth all their powers. Though Hercules ſlew the Hydra and cleanſed the Augæan ſtable, all but poets and heroes muſt have regretted that any ſuch monſters exiſted. Seriouſly, beſide the rancour, the treachery, and the dereliction of every generous ſentiment and upright motive, which are the rank production of the blood-manured field of civil diſcord, after the froth and feculence of its cauldron have boiled over, ſtill the deleterious dregs remain. Truth is the firſt victim to fear and policy; when matters arrive at that criſis, every one finds a ſeparate intereſt; mutual confidence, which cannot outlive ſincerity, dies next, and all the kindred virtues drop in ſucceſſion. It

becomes

becomes a man's intereſt that his brothers and his father ſhould join the oppoſite party, that ſome may be applauded for ſteadineſs or enriched by confiſcations: to ſuch temptations the mind, fermenting with party hatred, yields with leſs reſiſtance than could be imagined by thoſe who have never witneſſed ſuch ſcenes of horror darkened by duplicity. After ſo deep a plunge in depravity, how difficult, how near to impoſſible is a return to the paths of rectitude! This is but a ſingle inſtance of the manner in which moral feeling is undermined in both parties. But as our nature, deſtined to ſuffer and to mourn, and to have the heart made better by affliction, finds adverſity a leſs dangerous trial than proſperity, eſpecially where it is great and ſudden, in all civil conflicts the triumphant party may, with moral truth, be ſaid to be the greateſt ſufferers. Intoxicated as they often are with power and affluence, purchaſed with the blood and tears of their friends and countrymen, the hard taſk remains to them of chaining up and reducing to ſubmiſſion

the

the many-headed monſter, whom they have been forced to let looſe and gorge with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. Then, too, comes on the difficulty of dividing power where no one has a right, and every one a claim: of ruling thoſe whom they have taught to deſpiſe authority; and of reviving that ſentiment of patriotiſm, and that love of glory, which faction and ſelf-intereſt have extinguiſhed.

When the white and red roſes were the ſymbols of faction in England, and when the conteſt between Baliol and Bruce made way for invaſion and tyranny in Scotland, the deſtruction of armies and of cities, public executions, plunder and confiſcations, were the leaſt evils that they occaſioned. The annihilation of public virtue and private confidence; the exaſperation of hereditary hatred; the corrupting the milk of human kindneſs, and breaking aſunder every ſacred tie by which man and man are held together: all theſe dreadful reſults of civil diſcord are the means of viſiting the ſins of civil war on the third

and fourth generation of thoſe who have kindled it. Yet the extinction of charity and kindneſs in diſſenſions like theſe, is not to be compared to that which is the conſequence of an entire ſubverſion of the accuſtomed form of government. Attachment to a monarch or line of royalty, aims only at a ſingle object, and is at worſt loyalty and fidelity miſplaced: yet war once begun on ſuch a motive, looſens the bands of ſociety, and opens to the ambitious and the rapacious the way to power and plunder. Still, however, the laws, the cuſtoms, and the frame of government ſtand where they did. When the conteſt is decided, and the ſucceſsful competitor eſtabliſhed, if the monarch poſſeſſes ability and courts popularity, he, or at any rate his immediate ſucceſſor, may rule happily, and reconcile thoſe who were the enemies, not of his place, but of his perſon. The mighty image of ſovereign power may change its "head of gold" for one of ſilver; but ſtill it ſtands firm on its baſis, ſupported by all thoſe whom it protects. But when

thrown

thrown from its pedeſtal by an entire ſubverſion of government, the wreck is far more fatal and the traces indelible. Thoſe who on each ſide ſupport the heirs claiming a diſputed crown, mean equally to be faithful and loyal to their rightful ſovereign; and are thus, though in oppoſition to each other, actuated by the ſame ſentiment. But when the ſpirit of extermination walks forth over proſtrate thrones and altars, ages cannot efface the traces of its progreſs. A conteſt for ſovereignty is a whirlwind, that rages fiercely while it continues, and deforms the face of external nature. New houſes, however, replace thoſe it has demoliſhed; trees grow up in the place of thoſe deſtroyed; the landſcape laughs, the birds ſing, and every thing returns to its accuſtomed courſe. But a total ſubverſion of a long eſtabliſhed government is like an earthquake, that not only overturns the works of man, but changes the wonted courſe and operation of the very elements; makes a gulph in the midſt of a fertile plain, caſts a mountain into a lake,

lake, and in fine produces ſuch devaſtation as it is not in the power of man to remedy. Indeed it is too obvious that, even in our own country, that fire which produced the deſtruction of the monarchy, ſtill glows among the aſhes of extinguiſhed factions; but that portion of the community who carried with them acroſs the Atlantic, the repugnance to ſubmiſſion which grew out of an indefinite love of liberty, might be compared to the Perſian Magi. Like them, when forced to fly from their native country, they carried with them a portion of the hallowed fire, which continued to be the object of their ſecret worſhip. Thoſe who look upon the revolution, of which this ſpirit was the prime mover, as tending to advance the general happineſs, no doubt conſider theſe opinions as a rich inheritance, productive of the beſt effects. Many wiſe and worthy perſons have thought and ſtill continue to think ſo. There is as yet no room for deciſion, the experiment not being completed. Their mode of government, anomalous and hitherto inefficient,

has

has not yet acquired the firmneſs of coheſion, or the deciſive tone of authority.

The birth of this great empire is a phænomenon in the hiſtory of mankind. There is nothing like it in reality or fable, but the birth of Minerva, who proceeded full armed and full grown out of the head of the thunderer. Population, arts, ſciences, and laws, extenſion of territory, and eſtabliſhment of power, have been gradual and progreſſive in other countries, where the current of dominion went on increaſing as it flowed, by conqueſts or other acquiſitions, which it ſwallowed like rivulets in its courſe; but here it burſt forth like a torrent, ſpreading itſelf at once into an expanſe, vaſt as their own ſuperior lake, before the eyes of the paſſing generation which witneſſed its birth. Yet it is wonderful how little talent or intellectual pre-eminence of any kind has appeared in this new-born world, which ſeems already old in worldly craft, and whoſe children are indeed "wiſer in their generation than the children of light." Self-intereſt, eagerly graſping at

pecu-

pecuniary advantages, ſeems to be the ruling principle of this great continent.

Love of country, that amiable and noble ſentiment, which by turns exalts and ſoftens the human mind, nouriſhes enthuſiaſm, and inſpires alike the hero and the ſage, to defend and adorn the ſacred land of their nativity, is a principle which hardly exiſts there. An American loves his country, or prefers it rather, becauſe its rivers are wide and deep, and abound in fiſh; becauſe he has the foreſts to retire to, if the god of gainful commerce ſhould prove unpropitious on the ſhore. He loves it becauſe if his negro is diſreſpectful, or diſobedient, he can ſell him and buy another; while if he himſelf is diſobedient to the laws of his country, or diſreſpectful to the magiſtracy appointed to enforce them, that ſhadow of authority, without power to do good, or prevent evil, muſt poſſeſs its ſoul in patience.

We love our country becauſe we honour our anceſtors; becauſe it is endeared to us not only by early habit, but by attach-

tachment to the ſpots hallowed by their piety, their heroiſm, their genius, or their public ſpirit. We honour it as the ſcene of noble deeds, the nurſe of ſages, bards, and heroes. The very aſpect and features of this bleſt aſylum of liberty, ſcience, and religion, warm our hearts, and animate our imaginations. Enthuſiaſm kindles at the thoughts of what we have been, and what we are. It is the laſt retreat, the citadel, in which all that is worth living for is concentrated. Among the other ties which were broken, by the detachment of America from us, that fine ligament, which binds us to the tombs of our anceſtors, (and ſeems to convey to us the ſpirit and the affections we derive from them) was diſſolved: with it periſhed all generous emulation. Fame,

> "That ſpur which the clear mind doth raiſe
> To live laborious nights and painful days,"

has no votaries among the ſtudents of Poor Richard's almanack, the great *Pharos* of the ſtates. The land of their anceſtors, party hoſtility has taught them to regard with

with ſcorn and hatred. That in which they live calls up no images of paſt glory or excellence. Neither hopeful nor deſirous of that after-exiſtence, which has been moſt coveted by thoſe who do things worth recording, they not only live, but thrive; and that is quite enough. A man no longer ſays of himſelf with exultation, "I "belong to the land where Milton ſung "the ſong of ſeraphims, and Newton "traced the paths of light; where Alfred "eſtabliſhed his throne in wiſdom, and "where the palms and laurels of renown "ſhade the tombs of the mighty and the "excellent." Thus diſſevered from recollections ſo dear, and ſo ennobling, what ties are ſubſtituted in their places? Can he regard with tender and reverential feelings, a land that has not only been deprived of its beſt ornaments, but become a receptacle of the outcaſts of ſociety from every nation in Europe? Is there a perſon whoſe dubious or turbulent character has made him unwelcome or ſuſpected in ſociety, he goes to America, where he knows no one, and is

of

of no one known; and where he can with safety assume any character. All that tremble with the consciousness of undetected crimes, or smart from the consequence of unchecked follies; fraudulent bankrupts, unsuccessful adventurers, restless projectors, or seditious agitators, this great Limbus Patrum has room for them all; and to it they fly in the day of their calamity. With such a heterogeneous mixture a transplanted Briton of the original stock, a true old American, may live in charity, but can never assimilate. Who can, with the cordiality due to that sacred appellation, "my country," apply it to that land of Hivites and Girgashites, where one cannot travel ten miles, in a stretch, without meeting detachments of different nations, torn from their native soil and first affections, and living aliens in a strange land, where no one seems to form part of an attached connected whole.

To those enlarged minds, who have got far beyond the petty consideration of country and kindred, to embrace the whole human race, a land, whose population is like

Joſeph's coat, of many colours, muſt be a peculiarly ſuitable abode. For in the endleſs variety of the patchwork, of which ſociety is compoſed, a liberal philoſophic mind might meet with the ſpecimens of all thoſe tongues and nations which he comprehends in the wide circle of his enlarged philanthrophy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Reflections continued.

THAT ſome of the leaders of the hoſtile party in America acted upon liberal and patriotic views cannot be doubted. There were many, indeed, of whom the public good was the leading principle; and to theſe the cauſe was a noble one: yet even theſe little foreſaw the reſult. Had they known what a cold ſelfiſh character, what a direliction of religious principle, what furious factions, and wild unſettled notions of government, were to be the conſequences of this utter alienation from the parent ſtate, they would have ſhrunk back from the proſpect. Thoſe fine minds who, nurtured in the love of ſcience and of elegance, looked back to the land of their forefathers for models of excellence, and drank inſpiration from the production of the Britiſh muſe, could not but feel this rupture as "a wrench

from all we love, from all we *are*." They, too, might wiſh, when time had ripened their growing empire, to aſſert that independence which, when mature in ſtrength and knowledge, we claim even of the parents we love and honour.—But to ſnatch it, with a rude and bloody graſp, outraged the feelings of thoſe gentler children of the common parent. Mildneſs of manners, refinement of mind, and all the ſofter virtues that ſpring up in the cultivated paths of ſocial life, nurtured by generous affections, were undoubtedly to be found on the ſide of the unhappy royaliſts; whatever ſuperiority in vigour and intrepidity might be claimed by their perſecutors. Certainly, however neceſſary the ruling powers might find it to carry their ſyſtem of exile into execution, it has occaſioned to the country an irreparable privation.

When the Edict of Nantz gave the ſcattering blow to the proteſtants of France, they carried with them their arts, their frugal regular habits, and that portable mine of wealth which is the portion of patient induſtry.

duſtry. The chaſm produced in France by the departure of ſo much humble virtue, and ſo many uſeful arts, has never been filled.

What the loſs of the Hugonots was to commerce and manufactures in France, that of the Loyaliſts was to religion, literature, and *amenity*, in America. The ſilken threads were drawn out of the mixed web of ſociety, which has ever ſince been comparatively coarſe and homely. The dawning light of elegant ſcience was quenched in univerſal dullneſs. No ray has broke through the general gloom except the phoſphoric lightnings of her cold blooded philoſophers, the deiſtical Franklin, the legitimate father of the American "age of calculation." So well have "the children of his *ſoul*" profited by the frugal leſſons of this apoſtle of Plutus, that we ſee a new empire bleſt in its infancy with all the ſaving virtues which are the uſual portion of cautious and feeble age; and we behold it with the ſame complacent ſurpriſe which fills our minds at the ſight of a young miſer.

Forgive me, ſhade of the accompliſhed Hamilton *, while all that is lovely in virture, all that is honourable in valour, and all that is admirable in talent, conſpire to lament the early ſetting of that weſtern ſtar; and to deck the tomb of worth and genius with wreaths of immortal bloom:

" Thee *Columbia* long ſhall weep;
" Ne'er again thy likeneſs ſee;"

fain would I add,

" Long her ſtrains in ſorrows ſteep,
" Strains of immortality." GRAY.

but, alas!

" They have no poet, and they die." POPE.

His character was a bright exception; yet, after all, an exception that only confirms the rule. What muſt be the ſtate of that country where worth, talent, and the diſintereſted exerciſe of every faculty of a vigorous and exalted mind, were in vain devoted to the public good? Where, in-

* General Hamilton, killed in a duel, into which he was forced by Aaron Burr, Vice-Preſident of Congreſs, at New York, in 1806.

deed,

deed, they only marked out their poſſeſſor for a victim to the ſhrine of faction? Alas! that a compliance with the laws of falſe honour, (the only blemiſh of a ſtainleſs life,) ſhould be ſo dearly expiated! Yet the deep ſenſe expreſſed by all parties of this general loſs, ſeems to promiſe a happier day at ſome future period, when this chaos of jarring elements ſhall be reduced by ſome pervading and governing mind into a ſettled form.

But much muſt be done, and ſuffered, before this change can take place. There never can be much improvement till there is union and ſubordination; till thoſe ſtrong local attachments are formed, which are the baſis of patriotiſm, and the bonds of ſocial attachment. But, while ſuch a wide field is open to the ſpirit of adventure; and, while the facility of removal encourages that reſtleſs and ungovernable ſpirit, there is little hope of any material change. There is in America a double principle of fermentation, which continues to impede the growth of the arts and ſciences, and of thoſe gentler virtues of ſocial life, which were blaſted by

the breath of popular fury. On the ſea-ſide there is a perpetual importation of lawleſs and reſtleſs perſons, who have no other path to the notoriety they covet, but that which leads through party, violence; and of the want of that local attachment, I have been ſpeaking of, there can be no ſtronger proof, than the paſſion for emigration ſo frequent in America.

Among thoſe who are neither beloved in the vicinity of their place of abode, nor kept ſtationary by any gainful purſuit, it is incredible how light a matter will afford a pretext for removal!

Here is one great motive, for good conduct and decorous manners, obliterated. The good opinion of his neighbours is of little conſequence to him, who can ſcarce be ſaid to have any. If a man keeps free of thoſe crimes which a regard for the public ſafety compels the magiſtrate to puniſh, he finds ſhelter in every foreſt from the ſcorn and diſlike incurred by petty treſpaſſes on ſociety. There, all who are unwilling to ſubmit to the reſtraints of law and religion, may live unchallenged,

challenged, at a distance from the public exercise of either. There all whom want has made desperate, whether it be the want of abilities, of character, or the means to live, are sure to take shelter. This habit of removing furnishes, however, a palliation for some evils, for the facility with which they change residence, becomes the means of ridding the community of members too turbulent or too indolent to be quiet or useful. It is a kind of voluntary exile, where those whom government want power and efficiency to banish, very obligingly banish themselves; thus preventing the explosions which might be occasioned by their continuing mingled in the general mass.

It is owing to this salutary discharge of peccant humours that matters go on so quietly as they do, under a government which is neither feared nor loved, by the community it rules. These removals are incredibly frequent; for the same family, flying as it were before the face of legal authority, and civilization, are often known to remove farther and farther back into the

woods every fifth or sixth year, as the population begins to draw nearer. By this seceſſion from ſociety, a partial reformation is in ſome caſes effected. A perſon incapable of regular induſtry and compliance with its eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, will certainly do leaſt harm, when forced to depend on his perſonal exertions. When a man places himſelf in the ſituation of Robinſon Cruſoe, with the difference of a wife and children for that ſolitary hero's cats and parrots, he muſt of neceſſity make exertions like his, or periſh. He becomes not a regular huſbandman, but a hunter, with whom agriculture is but a ſecondary conſideration. His Indian corn and potatoes, which conſtitute the main part of his crop, are, in due time, hoed by his wife and daughters; while the axe and the gun are the only implements he willingly handles.

Fraud and avarice are the vices of ſociety, and do not thrive in the ſhade of the foreſts. The hunter, like the ſailor, has little thought of coveting or amaſſing. He does not forge, nor cheat, nor ſteal; as ſuch an unprincipled

unprincipled perſon muſt have done in the world, where, inſtead of wild beaſts, he muſt have preyed upon his fellows; and he does not drink much, becauſe liquor is not attainable. But he becomes coarſe, ſavage, and totally negligent of all the forms and decencies of life. He grows wild and unſocial. To him a neighbour is an encroacher. He has learnt to do without one; and he knows not how to yield to him in any point of mutual accommodation. He cares neither to give or take aſſiſtance, and finds all the ſociety he wants in his own family. Selfiſh, from the over-indulged love of eaſe and liberty, he ſees in a new comer merely an abridgement of his range, and an interloper in that ſport on which he would much rather depend for ſubſiſtence than on the habits of regular induſtry. What can more flatter an imagination warm with native benevolence, and animated by romantic enthuſiaſm, than the image of inſulated ſelf-dependant families, growing up in thoſe primæval retreats, remote from the corruptions of the world,

and dwelling amidſt the prodigality of nature. Nothing, however, can be more anti-Arcadian. There no crook is ſeen, no pipe is heard, no lamb bleats, for the beſt poſſible reaſon, becauſe there are no ſheep. No paſtoral ſtrains awake the ſleeping echoes, doomed to ſleep on till the bull-frog, the wolf, and the Quackawarry * begin their nightly concert. Seriouſly, it is not a place that can, in any inſtance, conſtitute happineſs. When liſtleſs indolence or lawleſs turbulence fly to ſhades the moſt tranquil, or ſcenes the moſt beautiful, they degrade nature inſtead of improving or enjoying her charms. Active diligence, a ſenſe of our duty to the ſource of all good, and kindly affections towards our fellow-creatures, with a degree of ſelf-command and mental improvement, can alone produce the gentle manners that inſure rural peace, or enable us, with intelligence and gratitude, to "rejoice in nature's joys."

* Quackawarry is the Indian name of a bird, which flies about in the night, making a noiſe ſimilar to the ſound of its name.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Sketch of the Settlement of Pennſylvania.

FAIN would I turn from this gloomy and uncertain proſpect, ſo diſappointing to philanthrophy, and ſo ſubverſive of all the flattering hopes and ſanguine predictions of the poets and philoſophers, who were wont to look forward to a new Atalantis,

" Famed for arts and laws derived from Jove,"

in this weſtern world. But I cannot quit the fond retroſpect of what once was in one favoured ſpot, without indulging a diſtant hope of what may emerge from this dark diſordered ſtate.

The melancholy Cowley, the ingenious biſhop of Cloyne, and many others, alike eminent for virtue and for genius, looked forward to this region of liberty as a foil, where peace, ſcience, and religion could have

have room to take root and flouriſh unmoleſted. In thoſe primæval ſolitudes, enriched by the choiceſt bounties of nature, they might (as theſe benevolent ſpeculators thought) extend their ſhelter to tribes no longer ſavage, rejoicing in the light of evangelic truth, and exalting ſcience. Little did theſe amiable projectors know how much is to be done before the human mind, debaſed by habitual vice, and cramped by artificial manners in the old world, can waſh out its ſtains and reſume its ſimplicity in a new; nor did they know through how many gradual ſtages of culture the untutored intellect of ſavage tribes muſt paſs before they become capable of comprehending thoſe truths which to us habit has rendered obvious, or which at any rate we have talked of ſo familiarly, that we think we comprehend them. Theſe projectors of felicity were not ſo ignorant of human nature, as to expect change of place could produce an inſtantaneous change of character; but they hoped to realize an Utopia, where juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered on the

pureſt

pureſt principles; from which venality ſhould be baniſhed, and where mankind ſhould, through the paths of truth and uprightneſs, arrive at the higheſt attainable happineſs in a ſtate not meant for perfection. They "talked the ſtyle of gods," making very little account of "chance and ſufferance." Their ſpeculations of the reſult remind me of what is recorded in ſome ancient writer, of a project for building a magnificent temple to Diana in ſome one of the Grecian ſtates. A reward was offered to him who ſhould erect, at the public coſt, with moſt taſte and ingenuity, a ſtructure which ſhould do honour both to the goddeſs and her worſhippers. Several candidates appeared. The firſt that ſpoke was a ſelf-ſatisfied young man, who, in a long florid harangue, deſcribed the pillars, the porticoes, and the proportions of this intended building, ſeeming all the while more intent on the diſplay of his elocution, than on the ſubject of his diſcourſe. When he had finiſhed, a plain elderly man came from behind him, and leaning forwards,

ſaid in a deep hollow voice, "All that he has ſaid I will do."

William Penn was the man, born to give "a local habitation and a name," to all that had hitherto only floated in the day dreams of poets and philoſophers.

To qualify him for the legiſlator of a new born ſect, with all the innocence and all the helpleſſneſs of infancy, many circumſtances concurred, that could ſcarce ever be ſuppoſed to happen at once to the ſame perſon; born to fortune and diſtinction, with a mind powerful and cultivated, he knew, experimentally, all the advantages to be derived from wealth or knowledge, and could not be ſaid ignorantly to deſpiſe them. He had, in his early days, walked far enough into the paths of folly and diſſipation, to know human character in all its varieties, and to ſay experimentally—all is vanity. With a vigorous mind, an ardent imagination, and a heart glowing with the warmeſt benevolence, he appears to have been driven, by a repulſive abhorrence of the abuſe of knowledge, of pleaſure, and pre-eminence, which he had witneſſed,

witneſſed, into the oppoſite extreme; into a ſect, the very firſt principles of which, clip the wings of fancy, extinguiſh ambition, and bring every ſtruggle for ſuperiority, the reſult of uncommon powers of mind, down to the dead level of tame equality; a ſect, that reminds one of the excluſion of poets from Plato's fancied republic, by ſtripping off all the many-coloured garbs with which learning and imagination have inveſted the forms of ideal excellence, and reducing them to a few ſimple realities, arrayed as ſoberly as their votaries.

This ſect, which brings mankind to a reſemblance of Thomſon's Laplanders,

"Who little pleaſure know, and feel no pain,"

might be ſuppoſed the laſt to captivate, nay, to abſorb, ſuch a mind as I have been deſcribing. Yet ſo it was: even in the midſt of all this cold humility, dominion was to be found. That rule, which of all others, is moſt gratifying to a mind conſcious of its own power, and directing it to the purpoſes of benevolence, the voluntary ſubjection of

mind, the homage which a ſect pays to its leader, is juſtly accounted the moſt gratifying ſpecies of power; and to this lurking ambition every thing is rendered ſubſervient by thoſe, who have once known this native and inherent ſuperiority. This man, who had waſted his inheritance, alienated his relations, and eſtranged his friends, who had forſaken the religion of his anceſtors, and in a great meaſure the cuſtoms of his country, whom ſome charged with folly, and others with madneſs, was, nevertheleſs, deſtined to plan with conſummate wiſdom, and execute with indefatigable activity and immoveable firmneſs, a ſcheme of government, ſuch as has been the wiſh, at leaſt, of every enlarged and benevolent mind, (from Plato, downwards,) which has indulged ſpeculations of the kind. The glory of realizing, in ſome degree, all theſe fair viſions, was, however, reſerved for William Penn alone.

Imagination delights to dwell on the tranquil abodes of plenty, content, and equanimity, that ſo quickly "roſe like an exhalation," in the domains of this pacific legiſla-

tor.

tor. That he ſhould expect to protect the quiet abodes of his peaceful and induſtrious followers, merely with a fence of olive, (as one may call his gentle inſtitutions,) is wonderful; and the more ſo, when we conſider him to have lived in the world, and known too well, by his own experience, of what diſcordant elements it is compoſed. A mind ſo powerful and comprehenſive as his, could not but know, that the wealth which quiet and blameleſs induſtry inſenſibly accumulates, proves merely a lure to attract the armed ſpoiler to the defenceleſs dwellings of thoſe, who do not think it a duty to protect themſelves.

" But when divine ambition ſwell'd his mind,
" Ambition truly great, of virtuous deeds,"

he could no otherwiſe execute his plan of utility, than by the agency of a people who were bound together by a principle, at once adheſive and excluſive, and who were too calm and ſelf-ſubdued, too benignant and juſt to create enemies to themſelves among their neighbours. There could be no motive

tive but the thirſt of rapine, for diſturbing a community ſo inoffenſive; and the founder, no doubt, flattered himſelf that the parent country would not fail to extend to them that protection, which their uſeful lives and helpleſs ſtate both needed and deſerved.

Never, ſurely, were inſtitutions better calculated for nurſing the infancy of a ſylvan colony, from which the noiſy pleaſures, and more buſtling varieties of life, were neceſſarily excluded. The ſerene and diſpaſſionate ſtate, to which it ſeems the chief aim of this ſect, to bring the human mind, is preciſely what is requiſite to reconcile it to the privations that muſt be encountered, during the early ſtages of the progreſſion of ſociety, which, neceſſarily excluded from the pleaſures of refinement, ſhould be guarded from its pains.

Where nations, in the courſe of time become civilized, the proceſs is ſo gradual from one race to another, that no violent effort is required to break through ſettled habits, and acquire new taſtes and inclinations, fitted to what might be almoſt ſtiled,

a new

a new mode of exiſtence. But when colonies are firſt ſettled, in a country ſo entirely primitive as that to which William Penn led his followers, there is a kind of retrograde movement of the mind, requiſite to reconcile people to the new duties and new views that open to them, and to make the total privation of wonted objects, modes, and amuſements, tolerable.

Perfect ſimplicity of taſte and manners, and entire indifference to much of what the world calls pleaſure, were neceſſary to make life tolerable to the firſt ſettlers in a trackleſs wilderneſs. Theſe habits of thinking and living, ſo difficult to acquire, and ſo painful when forced upon the mind by inevitable neceſſity, the quakers brought with them, and left, without regret, a world from which they were already excluded by that auſtere ſimplicity which peculiarly fitted them for their new ſituation. A kindred ſimplicity, and a ſimilar ignorance of artificial refinements and high ſeaſoned pleaſures, produced the ſame effect in qualifying the firſt ſettlers at Albany to ſupport the privations, and endure

endure the inconveniences of their noviciate in the foreſts of the new world. But to return to William Penn; the fair fabric he had erected, though it ſpeedily fulfilled the utmoſt promiſe of hope, contained within itſelf the principle of diſſolution, and, from the very nature of the beings which compoſed it, muſt have decayed, though the revolutionary ſhock had not ſo ſoon ſhaken its foundations. Sobriety and prudence lead naturally to wealth, and wealth to authority, which ſoon ſtrikes at the root of the ſhort lived principle of equality. A ſingle inſtance may occur here and there, but who can ever ſuppoſe nature running ſo contrary to her bias that all the opulent members of a community ſhould acquire or inherit wealth for the mere purpoſe of giving it away? Where there are no elegant arts to be encouraged, no elegant pleaſures to be procured, where ingenuity is not to be rewarded, or talent admired or exerciſed, what is wealth but a cumbrous load, ſinking the owner deeper and deeper into groſſneſs and dulneſs, having no incitement to exer-

ciſe

ciſe the only faculties permitted him to uſe, and few objects to relieve in a community from which vice and poverty are equally excluded by their induſtry, and their wholeſome rule of expulſion. We all know that there is not in ſociety a more uſeleſs and diſguſting character than what is formed by the poſſeſſion of great wealth without elegance or refinement, without, indeed, that liberality which can only reſult from a certain degree of cultivation. What then would a community be, entirely formed of ſuch perſons, or, ſuppoſing ſuch a community to exiſt, how long would they adhere to the ſimple manners of their founder, with ſuch a ſource of corruption mingled with their very exiſtence. Detachment from pleaſure and from vanity, frugal and ſimple habits, and a habitual cloſe adherence to ſome particular trade or employment, are circumſtances that have a ſure tendency to enrich the individuals who practice them. This in the end is " to give humility a coach and " ſix," that is, to deſtroy the very princi-

ple of adhesion which binds and continues the sect.

Highly estimable as a sect, these people were respectable and amiable in their collective capacity as a colony. But then it was an institution so constructed, that, without a miracle, its virtues must have expired with its minority. I do not here speak of the necessity of its being governed and protected by those of different opinions, but merely of wealth stagnating without its proper application. Of this humane community it is but just to say, that they were the only Europeans in the new world who always treated the Indians with probity like their own, and with kindness calculated to do honour to the faith they professed. I speak of them now in their collective capacity. They too are the only people that, in a temperate, judicious, (and, I trust, successful) manner, have endeavoured, and still endeavour to convert the Indians to christianity; for them too was reserved the honourable distinction of being the only body who

who ſacrificed intereſt to humanity, by voluntarily giving freedom to thoſe ſlaves whom they held in eaſy bondage. That a government ſo conſtituted could not, in the nature of things, long exiſt, is to be regretted; that it produced ſo much good to others, and ſo much comfort and proſperity to its ſubjects while it did exiſt, is an honourable teſtimony of the worth and wiſdom of its benevolent founder.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Proſpects brightening in Britiſh America.—Deſirable Country on the interior Lakes, &c.

HOWEVER diſcouraging the proſpect of ſociety on this great continent may at preſent appear, there is every reaſon to hope time, and the ordinary courſe of events, may bring about a deſirable change; but in the preſent ſtate of things, no government ſeems leſs calculated to promote the happineſs of its ſubjects, or to enſure permanence to itſelf, than that feeble and unſtable ſyſtem which is only calculated for a community compriſing more virtue, and more union than ſuch a heterogeneous mixture can be ſuppoſed to have attained. States, like individuals, purchaſe wiſdom by ſuffering, and they have probably much to endure before they aſſume a fixed and determinate form.

Without partiality it may be ſafely averred, that

that notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the climate, and other unfavorable circumſtances, the provinces of Britiſh America are the abode of more preſent ſafety and happineſs, and contain ſituations more favourable to future eſtabliſhments, than any within the limits of United States.

To ſtate all the grounds upon which this opinion is founded, might lead me into diſcuſſions, narratives, and deſcription which might ſwell into a volume, more intereſting than either of the preceding ones. But being at preſent neither able or inclined to do juſtice to the ſubject, I ſhall only briefly obſerve firſt, with regard to the government, it is one to which the governed are fondly attached, and which like religion becomes endeared to its votaries, by the ſufferings they have endured for their adherence to it. It is conſonant to their earlieſt prejudices, and ſanctioned by hereditary attachment. The climate is indeed ſevere, but it is ſteady and regular, the ſkies in the interior are clear, the air is pure. The ſummer, with all the heat of warm cli-

mates to cheriſh the productions of the earth, is not ſubject to the drought that in ſuch climates ſcorches and deſtroys them. Abundant woods afford ſhelter and fuel, to mitigate the ſeverity of winter; and ſtreams rapid and copious flow in all directions to refreſh the plants and cool the air, during their ſhort but ardent ſummer.

The country, barren at the ſea ſide, does not afford an inducement for thoſe extenſive ſettlements which have a tendency to become merely commercial from their ſituation. It becomes more fertile as it recedes further from the ſea. Thus holding out an inducement to purſue nature into her favorite retreats, where on the banks of mighty waters, calculated to promote all the purpoſes of ſocial traffic among the inhabitants, the richeſt ſoil, the happieſt climate, and the moſt complete detachment from the world, promiſe a ſafe aſylum to thoſe who carry the arts and the literature of Europe, hereafter to grace and enlighten ſcenes where agriculture has already made rapid advances.

In

In the dawning light which already begins to rife in thefe remote abodes, much may be difcovered of what promifes a brighter day. Excepting the remnant of the old Canadians, who are a very inoffenfive people, patient and chearful, attached to monarchy, and much affimilated to our modes of thinking and living, thefe provinces are peopled, for the moft part, with inhabitants poffeffed of true Britifh hearts and principles. Veterans who have fhed their blood, and fpent their beft days in the fervice of the parent country, and royalifts who have fled here for a refuge, after devoting their property to the fupport of their honour and loyalty; who adhere together and form a fociety graced by that knowledge, and thofe manners, which rendered them refpectable in their original ftate, with all the experience gained from adverfity; and that elevation of fentiment which refults from the confciouſneſs of having fuffered in a good cauſe. Here, too, are cluſters of emigrants who have fled unacquainted with the refinements, and uncontaminated by the old world, to feek for

that

that bread and peace, which the progreſs of luxury and the change of manners denied them at home. Here they come in kindly confederation, reſolved to cheriſh in thoſe kindred groupes, which have left with ſocial ſorrow their native mountains, the cuſtoms and traditions, the language and the love of their anceſtors, and to find comfort in that religion, which has been ever their ſupport and their ſhield, for all that they have left behind *.

It is by tribes of individuals intimately connected with each other by ſome common tie, that a country is moſt advantageouſly ſettled; to which the obvious ſuperiority in point of principle and union that diſtinguiſhes Britiſh America from the United States, is chiefly owing. Our provinces afford no room for wild ſpeculations either of the commercial or political kind; regular, moderate trade, promiſing little beyond a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and agri-

* It is needleſs to enlarge on a ſubject, to which Lord Selkirk has done ſuch ample juſtice, who wanted nothing but a little experience and a little aid, to make the beſt practical comments on his own judicious obſervations.

culture,

culture, requiring much induſtry and ſettled habits, are the only paths open to adventurers; and the chief inducement to emigration is the poſſibility of an attached ſociety of friends and kindred, finding room to dwell together, and meeting, in the depth of theſe fertile wilds, with ſimilar aſſociations. Hence ſolitary and deſperate adventurers, the vain, the turbulent, and the ambitious, ſhun theſe regulated abodes of quiet induſtry, for ſcenes more adapted to their genius.

I ſhall now conclude my recollections, which circumſtances have often rendered very painful; but will not take upon me to enlarge on thoſe hopes that ſtretch a dubious wing into temporal futurity, in ſearch of a brighter day, and a better order of things. Content if I have preſerved ſome records of a valuable life; thrown ſome glimmering light upon the progreſs of ſociety in that peculiar ſtate, which it was my fate to witneſs and to ſhare, and afforded ſome hours of harmleſs amuſement to thoſe lovers of nature and of truth, who can patiently trace their progreſs through

a tale

a tale devoid alike of regular arrangement, surprising variety, and artificial embellishment*.

* The reader, who has patiently gone on to the conclusion of these desultory memoirs, will perhaps regret parting with that singular association of people, the Mohawk tribes, without knowing where the few that remain have taken up their abode. It is but doing justice to this distinguished race to say, that, though diminished, they were not subdued; though voluntary exiles, not degraded. Their courage and fidelity were to the last exerted in the most trying exigencies. True to their alliance with that nation with whom they had ever lived in friendship, and faithful to that respectable family, who had formed at once the cement and the medium by which that alliance was confirmed, and through which assurances of attachment and assistance had been transmitted, all that remained of this powerful nation followed Sir John Johnson (the son of their revered Sir William) into Upper Canada, where they now find a home around the place of his residence. One old man alone, having no living tie remaining, would not forsake the tombs of his ancestors, and remains like "A watchman on the lonely hill;" or rather like a sad memento of an extinguished nation.

FINIS.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.